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# China Report

RED FLAG

No 12, 16 June 1985

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23 August 1985

## CHINA REPORT RED FLAG

No 12, 16 June 1985

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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ANOTHER DISCUSSION ON GRASPING WORK TRULY AND STRICTLY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] At present, there are two bad practices prevailing inside the party: First, some people fail to grasp their work truly; they only do some "window dressing," but are unwilling to exert true effort. Second, some people fail to do their work strictly, and only attach importance to sensibilities at the expense of party spirit. These two kinds of practices are not in line with the great historical mission of our party, and fail to keep abreast with the developing situation of reform, opening to the outside world, and construction. We should do our work truly rather than putting up a facade alone. We should do our work strictly rather than loosely.

What is leadership? What are the responsibilities of leaders? Some of our comrades are not clear on these questions. Some cadres fail to assume their administrative duties although they hold high rank in administrative organs. They are the masters of the country but do not take responsibility for their decisions. They are masters but do not make decisions. What they do is just copy and transmit mechanically the instructions issued by the higher authorities, and draw dots or small circles on official documents. Once they encounter matters which are difficult to solve, they try to evade them or wash their hands of them. None of these is a rare phenomenon. This situation must not continue. When you are doing a thing, you will inevitably encounter difficulties. Since you are a leader, you should do a lot of thinking, exert your efforts, make decisions, and try to find a solution. Since you are a leader, you should settle disputes among your subordinate units and the masses. Otherwise, what is the use of having leaders? Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently pointed out again: "Leadership means rendering people service." The term leadership means a person shouldering heavier tasks and taking greater responsibilities. As a leader, he should independently and correctly handle and solve problems according to the guiding principles and policies worked out by the central authorities, which occur within the range of his work. This is a basic responsibility and duty of a leader.

To do our work truly, we should grasp it strictly. Only by grasping it strictly can we ensure that the work is done truly. Efforts must be made to conscientiously do the work. Only thus can we do it well and achieve good results. This requires us to set strict demands, follow a strict system of supervision and investigation, observe strict discipline, and adopt strict methods for rewards and penalties. Setting high demands does not mean setting high targets, issuing confused orders, or making criticisms arbitrarily. It means that we should do our work conscientiously by taking the interests of the state and people into account. We should uphold the spirit of keeping on fighting in spite of all setbacks to overcome obstacles and difficulties occurring in the course of implementing the policy. We should adopt an attitude of upholding principles and being conscientious and meticulous in trying every means, adopting measures, and doing our work well step by step. Following a strict system of supervision and investigation does not mean strutting about, criticizing this, and condemning that. On the contrary, in the spirit of being responsible for the people, we should spare no sensibilities, avoid being misled by "lip service," and exercise supervision over our subordinate units so that they exert their greatest efforts to do their work and accomplish their tasks well. The supervision and investigation carried out by the higher authorities should also include: helping subordinate units to discover problems, find out where the crux of these problems lie, and study methods for solving them. Therefore, supervision and investigation carried out by leaders are also a kind of service provided for basic-level units. A strict system is connected with a strict system of rewards and penalties. In the course of doing our work, we should integrate commendation with criticism. We should commend and award those who work actively, dare to carry out reforms, make contributions, and render meritorious service. Those who are slack and perfunctory in performing their duties, muddle along, or neglect their duty in particular, should be criticized or punished. We should resolutely overcome the previous practice of failing to distinguish right from wrong, to appraise merits and faults, and to mete out rewards and punishments strictly and fairly. To grasp our work truly, we should adopt measures. Grasping our work firmly means an implementation of these measures.

To grasp the work strictly, leaders should, first of all, set strict demands on themselves, and set a good example. If they fail to do so, this will not only undermine the fine traditions of the party and impair its prestige and image, but will also cause much dissatisfaction on the part of the masses and cadres. Very often, this is the reason contributing to the failure of a number of units to grasp their work truly and firmly. For example, with regard to the problem of upholding party discipline, we should, first of all, solve the problems of the cadres, leading cadres in particular. Whatever happens in our work, we should advocate the following method: Leaders should get themselves into the matters concerned. When something wrong has happened, they are not allowed to shift the responsibility to the higher or lower level. They should, first of all, find out the cause of the matter, examine their sense of responsibility, and draw a lesson. If leaders are devoid of enterprising spirit and sense of responsibility, or fail to set a good example, they are not qualified to be leaders. "A gentleman should make himself an example." Leaders should be honest and upright in their ways and set strict demands on themselves. They should set a good example in grasping their work truly and firmly. Only thus will they have the right to set strict demands on others.

# IT IS IMPERATIVE TO PAY ATTENTION TO THE SOCIAL EFFECT OF SPIRITUAL PRODUCTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 p 3

["Forum"]

[Text] The purpose of carrying out reform and construction is not only to develop material production and create more and better material products, but also to develop spiritual production, create beneficial, beautiful and colorful spiritual products and foster a new socialist generation. While greatly carrying out the construction of material civilization, we should strengthen the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization, carry out education on patriotism, collectivism and communism among the people and oppose capitalism, feudalism and other decadent ideologies, all of which have been clearly written in our party constitution and constitution. Our party members and cadres should never forget this provision in the party constitution and constitution and should fulfill our duties and obligations.

We need to direct both material production and spiritual production. In producing spiritual products, we should first of all know where we should lead our people, especially the young people. We should never underestimate the role of spiritual products. A good spiritual product can educate the people, especially the young people, to acquire the communist ideal, encourage them to work and study hard and enable them to devote their lives to the prosperity of our motherland and happiness of the people, whereas a bad spiritual product can spread capitalist and feudalist decadent ideologies and lure the people to decadence and even commit crimes. Recently, some small decadent papers and video tapes which publicize pornography, obscenity, murder, fantasy, ghosts, superstition and so on and so forth spread unchecked in some areas, seriously harming the body and mind of young people and arousing strong resentment from the broad masses of the people. The party Central Committee is very concerned about the situation. Not long ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping seriously pointed out: "We should never let our young generation become captives of capitalist ideology, never." So the question of the social effect of spiritual products is an important one which will greatly affect the future of the whole nation and the whole country. So long as we understand the importance of this question and consciously adhere to the communist ideology, we will have a clear guiding ideology in producing spiritual products.

In producing spiritual products, we should try to spend less money to do more things and try to gain reasonable and legal profits. But we should first of all pay attention to the social effect of the spiritual products, that is to see whether the spiritual products are beneficial or harmful to the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. Earning money should not be the main purpose in producing spiritual products. We should not try to gain profits for ourselves or collectives by spreading decadent ideologies to society and to youths. If we are not clear about this question, we will get lost and make serious mistakes. The party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that we should resolutely resist and oppose the corrosive influence of decadent ideologies of the exploiting classes. So we should not allow harmful tabloids, cassettes and video tapes to poison the body and mind of the young generation. Our comrades on the ideological front must clearly know their historical tasks, prevent spiritual pollution, pay attention to the social effect of spiritual products, properly deal with the relations between the interests of individuals and small collectives and the fundamental interests of the state and people. If people write decadent things without considering the social effect and carry out spiritual pollution, we should seriously criticize them. If party members do so, we must criticize them more seriously and resolutely stop them.

Of course, it won't do if we only ban the bad things. The decadent things will still be able to find a market if we cannot produce good and healthy things. Along with the improvement of people's material life, the broad masses of people will make more demands for their spiritual life. The comrades on the ideological front, including writers, artists, reporters, editors and comrades in charge of press and education and so on and so forth, who shoulder important responsibilities in the construction of the social spiritual civilization, should enthusiastically publicize socialist and communist ideals and values in the spirit of being highly responsible to the cause of the party and people and try to produce a large number of spiritual products which can greatly encourage the people, especially the young people to work hard to vigorously develop China and can help them improve their education and moral standards. Our comrades should also actively develop sparetime mass activities, such as sports, literature and art, science and technology, tourism, book-reading and newspaper-reading and so on and so forth in order to meet the demands of the broad masses of people for a healthy, rich and colorful spiritual life.

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## LENIN ON FREEDOM OF CREATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 4-10

[Footnotes are translator's footnotes]

[Text] Editor's note: Lenin's explanations on the freedom of creation can be found in his article "Party Organizations and Party Publications" written in 1905, and there are also records of Lenin's and Zetkin's expositions on this problem in 1920 in Zetkin's book "Recollections of Lenin." The full text of "Party Organizations and Party Publications" was published in RED FLAG Issue No 22, 1982. In the past, "Recollections of Lenin" was not widely circulated and some parts of the translation of the book were not accurate enough. RED FLAG Issue No 11 of 1985 published a revised translation of part of the book. We now publish parts of Zetkin's recollections on Lenin's explanations on literature and art, which have been proofread and corrected by the Central Translation Bureau. We also republish the relevant paragraphs in "Party Organizations and Party Publications" for our readers to study.

### I [Excerpts from Lenin's "Party Organizations and Party Publications"]

It is unquestionable that in the writing undertaking, it is impossible to demand mechanical standardization and uniformity or the subordination of the minority to the majority. It is also unquestionable that in this undertaking, it is absolutely necessary to ensure a broad field for individual initiative and individual inclination, a broad field where there are ideas, fantasies, forms, and content. All this is unquestionable. However, it only proves that the writing undertaking, which forms part of the party's proletariat undertakings, cannot be mechanically equated with the rest of the party's proletariat undertakings.

We want to establish, and we will certainly establish, a free press--free not simply from police suppression, but also from capital, from careerism, and what is more, from bourgeois-anarchist individualism.

Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions. But every voluntary association (including the party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate anti-party views. There should be full freedom of speech and the press. Also, there should be full freedom of association. I am bound to accord you, in the name of free speech, the full right to shout, lie, and write to your heart's content. But you are bound to grant me, in the name of freedom of association, the right to enter into or withdraw from association with people advocating this or that view. The party is a voluntary association, which would inevitably break up, first ideologically and then physically, if it did not cleanse itself of people advocating anti-party views... Freedom of thought and freedom of criticism in the party will never make us forget about the freedom of organizing people into voluntary associations known as parties.

We must tell bourgeois individualists that their talk about absolute freedom is sheer hypocrisy. There can be no real and effective "freedom" in a society based on the power of money, in a society in which the vast number of laborers live in destitution and the handful of rich lead a parasitic life... We should know that this absolute freedom is a bourgeois or an anarchist phrase (since, as a world outlook, anarchism is bourgeois ideology turned inside out). Living in society, one cannot be free from society.

We socialists expose this hypocrisy and rip off the false labels, not to arrive at a classless literature and art, but to contrast this hypocritically free writing, which is in reality related to the bourgeoisie, with a really free one that will be openly related to the proletariat.

It will be free writing, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever-new forces to its ranks. It will be free writing, because it will serve, not some satiated ladies, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but millions upon millions of working people--the cream of the country, its strength, and its future. It will be free writing, using the experience and lively work of the socialist proletariat to enrich the revolutionary thought of mankind and bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (the completion of the development of primitive, utopian socialism into scientific socialism) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades).

Excerpts from Lenin's article "Party Organizations and Party Publications."

## II

...Lenin discovered that three of us women<sup>1</sup> were discussing the problem of art, education, and training. At that time, I was warmly praising the Bolshevik's unique and large-scale cultural work and the vigorous development of creative power, as this creative power is blazing a new trail in art and education. But I did not conceal my impression: Uncertain and vague investigations and experiments had been made and apart from the desire for new contents, new forms, and new methods in cultural life, there was also a "fashionable habit" which followed certain Western art and culture. Lenin at once took part in our discussion in high spirits.

Lenin said: "That awakening, that is, an activity to create a new type of art and culture for the Soviet Russia, is good, is very good. This vigorous development is comprehensible and useful. We must and will certainly make up for what has been ignored over the past centuries. Being confusedly excited, feverishly seeking new solutions and new slogans, and 'praising' an artistic school and trend today and 'nailing it on the cross' tomorrow!--all this is inevitable.

"The revolution is emancipating all suppressed forces and bringing them from the depths to the surface. Let us give an example. Imagine how much pressure the fashion and mood in the Tsar's palace as well as the taste and inclination of aristocrats and bourgeois lords imposed on the development of our paintings, carvings, and buildings. In a society based on private ownership, an artist needs buyers when he produces his products for the market. Our revolution has freed artists from the pressure of such a mediocre situation. The revolution has enabled the Soviet state to become the protector of artists and the buyer of their products. Every artist or every person who thinks himself an artist has demanded the right to engage in free creation according to his aspirations, regardless of whether these aspirations are of any use. Therefore you will come across excitement, experiments, confusion.

"Naturally, however, we are communists. We must not remain idle and allow confusion to spread unchecked. Also, we must consciously and explicitly do our best to guide this development and to form and determine its results. We have not done well enough in this respect. In my opinion, we have our own Professor Karlstadt.<sup>2</sup> We are excessive, too excessive, 'destroyers of holy images.'<sup>3</sup> Beautiful things, we must retain. We must take them as an example and a point of departure, although they are 'old.' Why should we abandon beautiful things and thoroughly get rid of this point of departure which enables us to make further progress just because these beautiful things are 'old'? Why should we worship new things as deities just because they are 'new'? This is ridiculous, absolutely ridiculous. In addition, many hypocritical forms of art have become customs due to long usage, and the worship of Western art prevails. Of course, people are doing this unconsciously. We are fine revolutionaries, but we do not know why we feel that we have the responsibility to prove that we also stand on the 'top of the present culture.' Personally, I have the courage to declare that I am a 'savage.' I cannot eulogize works embodying expressionism, futurism, and cubism as the supreme manifestations of artistic talent. I do not understand these works, and these works cannot please me in the least."

I have to admit that I also lack comprehension. I do not understand why in the eyes of a person who has inspiration, the artistic expression of the nose is a triangle, nor do I understand why the desire for revolutionary activities has caused a person with arms and legs to put himself in a shapeless bag filled with two 5-pronged rakes. Lenin laughed to his heart's content. "Yes, dear Clara, it cannot be helped. We are old. We are satisfied that we are still able to keep our vigor in the revolution and to stand in the forefront of the revolution. As for the new art, we cannot catch up with it. We can only walk behind it lamely."

"But," Lenin continued, "the important thing is not how we understand art. In a country with several million citizens like ours, the important thing is not what art has given several hundred or even several thousand citizens. Art belongs to the people. It must take deep root in the vast number of laboring masses. It must be understood and loved by the masses. It must be able to unite the masses and enhance their level by proceeding from their feelings, thoughts, and wishes. It must be able to foster artists from among the masses and to help them develop. When the worker and peasant masses do not even have black bread to eat, shall we give fine, sweet biscuits to a small number of people? Obviously, this is a figure of speech but at the same time should be taken literally. We must frequently put the workers and peasants before our eyes. We must learn how to manage and consider them. We must do so even in the art and cultural fields.

"In order to bring art close to the people and vice versa, first of all we must improve the general level of education and culture. What is the situation in this connection? You have fervently talked about the large-scale cultural work carried out since we seized political power. Indeed, we can say without exaggeration that we have done a great deal of work in this respect. Not only have we not 'cut off heads,' as Mensheviks and Trotskyites of various countries have vilified us, but we have also enlightened brains--many brains. The 'many' here is in comparison with the sins committed by the ruling class and clique in the past. We are faced with the workers' and peasants' huge demand for education and culture, a demand we ourselves have aroused and ignited. Such a demand can be found not only in Petrograd, Moscow, and in industrial centers, but also in areas outside these cities and centers, including the rural areas. We are a poor nation, a nation reduced to destitution! Whether we admit it or not, most of the old people are sufferers in terms of culture, and they are deprived of the right to inherit cultural heritage. We are now carrying out a tenacious battle of eliminating illiteracy. We are building libraries and 'reading rooms' in big and small cities as well as in the rural areas. We are running various types of educational courses. We are performing fine operas, holding concerts, and sending out 'education trains' and running 'mobile exhibitions' in various parts of the country. But I would like to repeat that all this is of no use to the hundreds of millions of people who do not possess the most rudimentary knowledge and culture! When there are 10,000 people enjoying grand performances in Moscow today--and probably there will be another 10,000 tomorrow--these hundreds of millions of people are learning spelling, learning to write their names, learning calculation, and learning culture so as to understand that the earth is like a ball instead of a disc; that all things in the universe are controlled by the law of nature rather than by witches, wizards, and the 'ruler of heaven.'"

"Do not blame illiteracy that seriously, Comrade Lenin," I chipped in. "In a sense, it has really helped your revolution. It protects the soul of the workers and peasants from the pollution of bourgeois concepts and views. You are carrying out propaganda and agitation on virgin soil. It is easy to sow and reap in a place in a primeval forest where there is no need to uproot all the forest trees."

"Yes, that is not bad," Lenin answered, "within certain restrictions, or more accurately, in a certain period of struggle. Illiteracy is compatible only with the struggle of seizing political power and smashing the old state machine. Do we destroy just for the purpose of destruction? We destroy to build better things. Illiteracy is incompatible with construction tasks, absolutely incompatible. Construction, as Marx said, must be the affair of the workers themselves, and I want to add that it must also be the affair of the peasants, if they want to emancipate themselves. Our Soviet system has made it easier to realize this. With the establishment of this system, tens of thousands of laboring people can study construction skills in various Soviet organizations. As you frequently say, they are men and women 'in the prime of life.' In our country, the majority of them grew up under the old political power, that is, without receiving education and cultural training. Now they are enthusiastically seeking education and culture. We are doing our best to recruit men and women to participate in Soviet work, and we are training them both in practice and theory. In spite of all this, administrative and construction forces are far from being enough. We are forced to use the old bureaucracy, which will bring about bureaucratism. I hate it from the bottom of my heart. But this does not mean that I hate an individual bureaucrat, as he is probably a capable person. I hate the system. It can paralyze and corrupt our work from the highest to the lowest levels. The decisive method for overcoming and uprooting bureaucratism is to carry out popular education and popular training as extensively as possible.

"What are our prospects? We have set up big organizations and adopted really good measures to enable proletarian and peasant youngsters to learn, study, and possess cultural knowledge. But there is a problem: Is this of any use to those tens of thousands of people? What is worse is that our kindergartens, youth centers, and primary schools are far from being enough. Thousands upon thousands of children are growing up without education or training. They are growing up under the care of their parents and grandparents who do not have knowledge or culture. How much talent is being strangled and how much hope is being trampled on! This is a cruel crime harming the happiness of the next generation as well as an act plundering the Soviet state, which will develop into a communist society, of its wealth. This is a serious danger to our future."

In Lenin's calm tone, one could feel some suppressed indignation. Since he spoke to the three of us so passionately, it is obvious, I think, that the problem was quite important to him, unforgettable to him. One of us--I cannot recall who--aired her views, saying that some prominent things in art and cultural life were "excusable," giving some explanations by presenting the situation at that time. Lenin answered:

"I know! Many people faithfully believe that the present difficulties and dangers can be overcome with 'bread and circuses.'<sup>4</sup> Bread--it is necessary, of course! Circuses--I am not opposed to them! But we must not forget that a circus is not great and real art but a kind of amusement with a little delight. We must not forget that our workers and peasants are not the lumpen-proletariat of Rome. They are not fed by the state but provide for the state by their own labor. They 'made' revolution and safeguarded their

own cause with unprecedented sacrifice and bloodshed. Our workers and peasants should really enjoy something better than circuses. They have the right to enjoy real and great art. For this reason, it is necessary to carry out mass education and mass training as extensively as possible. This will lay a cultural foundation (on condition that the supply of bread is guaranteed), on which really new and great art will arise, communist art which will determine its form according to its own content. Here our intellectuals are faced with huge and most valuable tasks. They are obliged to understand and fulfill these tasks, as the proletarian revolution has opened the gate wide to freedom for them and has freed them from the miserable predicament as described by the 'Communist Manifesto.'

That night--it was late into the night--we talked about many problems. But apart from Lenin's views on art, culture, the masses' education, and the masses' training, we do not have any impression of what we said on other subjects.

...Lenin continued to elaborate on his views.

"I know, I know," he said, "some people suspect that I am something of a philistine, although I hate it. It contains a great deal of hypocrisy and narrow-mindedness. But I behave with perfect composure! A little bird with a yellow beak that has just forced its way out of the egg carrying bourgeois viewpoints is always smart. We have no choice but to ignore this, but we should not change our views. The youth movement is 'following the fashion' on the problem of sex and has shown too much concern for it." Lenin, knitting his brows, ironically emphasized the word "fashion." He continued: "I hear that your youth organization is also interested in the study of the problem of sex, thinking that there are not enough speakers on this problem. This mischief is particularly harmful and dangerous to the youth movement. It will easily bring about excessive excitement and ecstasy in the sexual life of some youths. As a result, their health and strength will be harmed. You must also fight it. The women's movement and the youth movement have many things in common. Our women comrades should cooperate with youth in all places. This is the continuation, expansion, and development of maternal love from the individual sphere to the social sphere. The consciousness of women in social life and activities should be awakened so that they abandon their vulgar family life and free themselves from family mental restrictions. I mention this only in passing.

"On the problem of sex, the majority of youth here are fond of 'revising the bourgeois concept and morality.' I should add that these are our finest and really most promising youth. What you said just now is good. In the situation brought about by the result of war and created by the revolution which is under way, the value of the old ideology has disappeared from the changed economic base of society and has lost its binding power. A new value is gradually forming in the course of struggle. Revolutionarization is taking place in the relationships between one person and another, between men and women, and between feeling and ideology. A new distinction is being made between individual and overall rights and between individual duties. This problem is being discussed in utter confusion. Various contradictions have

not fully displayed their trends of development and strength. This is a very slow and usually very painful process of elimination and emergence, particularly in the relationships between two sexes and on the problem of marriage and families. The decadence, degeneration, and filth of bourgeois marriage, its divorce, the freedom it has granted to men, its enslavement of women, as well as the disgusting hypocrisy of its sexual morality and relationships have filled the hearts of the finest, most talented people with immense hatred.

"The bonds of bourgeois marriage and the bourgeois state's family law have strengthened these drawbacks and conflicts. These are the bonds of 'sacred property.' They have made avariciousness, degeneration, and obscenity sacred. The rest will be completed by the traditional hypocrisy of faithful bourgeois society. People are rising against this prevalent decadence and hypocrisy. When the powerful empire is shaking, the old ruling forces are collapsing, and the entire world of social intercourse is on the decline, individual feelings are changing in such a way that various kinds of pleasure-seeking desires and excitement can gain strength without restrictions. The reform of the problems of sex and marriage in the bourgeois sense has failed to satisfy people, and the revolution of sex and marriage suited to the proletarian revolution is approaching. It is comprehensible for women and the youth to consider complicated problems arising therefrom. Like women, the youth are also distressed about the present sexual confusion. They are rising in violent action of all descriptions against this confusion. This is comprehensible. Nothing is more erroneous than youth propagating priests' asceticism and the dignity of the filthy bourgeois morality. Sex has become a very prominent physiological problem in the life of the youth. It will be too bad if it becomes the problem they are most concerned with in physiology. This will produce a fatal influence!...

"The change in the youth's attitude toward the problem of sexual life is, of course, 'fundamental' and based on a theory. Many of them think that their attitude is a 'revolutionary' and 'communist' attitude, and they really believe so. But this is not admirable to an old man like me. The 'new sexual life' referred to by the youth and sometimes by old men is, to me, purely bourgeois in nature and a thorough expansion of bourgeois brothels. All this has nothing in common with the freedom of making love interpreted by we communists. You certainly know the famous theory which asserts that in communist society, satisfying one's sexual appetite and love is as simple and common as 'drinking a cup of water.' This 'cup of water' theory has made some of our youth mad, utterly mad! This is a fatal wound to young males and females. Those who pursue this theory assert that it is Marxist. But I have to thank this Marxist theory for bluntly attributing all phenomenon and changes in the superstructure to the social economic base! The problem is not that simple. A person named Frederick Engels pointed this out long ago while dealing with historical materialism.

"I maintain that this famous 'cup of water' theory is utterly non-Marxist and runs counter to society. In sexual life, be it of a higher or lower grade, what counts is not only physiological desires but also the factor of civilization. In his book the 'Origin of the Family, Private Ownership, and

the State,' Engels points out: How important it is that ordinary sexual excitement has developed and purified into individual sexual love.<sup>5</sup> Mutual relationships between the sexes are not just mutual effects between social economy and physiological needs. A physiological survey reveals that such needs have nothing to do with people's minds. Tracing back the change in these relationships to the economic base of society by departing from the entire ideology is rationalism rather than Marxism. Naturally, one needs to drink when he is thirsty. But under normal circumstances, will a normal person lie down in the street to drink the dirty water there? Or will he drink the water from a cup which has been drunk out of by many people? The most important factor is society. Drinking water is, of course, a personal matter. Making love, however, concerns two people and will bring forth a third life, a new life. This embodies social interests and the responsibility for the entity.

"As a communist, I do not sympathize with this 'cup of water' theory, although it bears the beautiful name of 'love emancipation.' Moreover, this love emancipation is neither new nor communist. As you remember, it was advocated as 'soul emancipation' in literary and art works in the mid-19th century. In bourgeois practice, it has become the emancipation of the carnal desire. The ability to preach was stronger in the past than at present. With regard to practice, I cannot tell. I do not wish to use my criticism to advocate asceticism. I do not in the least intend to do so. Communism should not bring forth asceticism but happiness in life and the strength of life, and these emerge from the satisfaction of love making. In my opinion, excessive sexual life, which is occasionally heard about, is not giving but taking away such happiness and strength. It is harmful, quite harmful, in the revolutionary era.

"Youngsters particularly need happiness in life and the strength of life, including sports, gymnastics, swimming, excursions, and other physical exercises as well as an interest in various branches of knowledge. They should learn, study, and investigate together! This is more beneficial to youth than endlessly discussing the problem of sex and the so-called full enjoyment of life. Perfect physique and perfect spirit! And not the attitude of priests, Don Juan,<sup>6</sup> or the German mediocrities. You know Comrade X.Y.Z. He is a good and quite talented youth. But I am afraid he will have no prospects. He makes love time and again, which does not correspond to political struggle and revolution. I do not trust the reliability and will for struggle of women who confuse their lasciviousness with politics, nor do I trust men who court women behind their skirts or men who are fascinated by every young woman. No, no! This has nothing in common with the revolution." Lenin suddenly left his seat, banged his hand on the desk, and then walked around for several steps.

"The revolution requires the masses and individuals to concentrate and muster their strength. The dissoluteness which the degenerate hero and heroine of Gabriele D'Annunzio<sup>7</sup> were accustomed to is incompatible with the revolution. A loose sex life is bourgeois in nature and is a type of degeneration. The proletariat is an ascending class. It does not need to intoxicate or stimulate itself with narcotics, with alcohol, or with loose sexual desire. The



proletariat will not and does not want to forget capitalist disgrace, ugliness, and barbarity. It has gained the most powerful motive force for struggle from its class stand and communist aspirations. What it needs is being limpid and clear, being limpid and clear, and again being limpid and clear. I want to repeat that we must not weaken our strength, waste our strength, or destroy our strength. Exercising restraint over oneself in making love is not slavishness. But forgive me, Clara, what I am saying has gone far from what I talked about in the beginning. Why did you not remind me? My worry made me go too far. I am deeply concerned with the future of our youth. This is a part of the revolution. If a harmful tendency spreads from bourgeois society to the revolutionary world--like the roots of weeds--we should fight it, the earlier the better. These problems are part of the problems women should deal with."

Like Marx, Lenin understood the masses. Naturally, he regarded the overall development of the masses' culture as of great significance. He was of the opinion that such development was the greatest achievement in the revolution and a reliable guarantee for realizing communism.

Once he said to me: "The Red October has opened up a broad road for the large-scale cultural revolution, which is being carried out on the basis of, and in interaction with, the current economic revolution. Please give thought to the millions upon millions of males and females of different nationalities and races who live in different stages of civilization: They are now doing all they can to advance toward a new life. Soviet political power is faced with great tasks. In several years or several decades, it must repay the cultural debt left over from the past several hundred years. Apart from Soviet organs and institutions, a large number of organizations and associations of scientists, artists, and teachers have also gone into action for cultural progress. Our various trade unions and rural cooperatives are carrying out cultural work on the largest scale. Our party's initiative is full of vigor and permeates every undertaking. Many tasks are being carried out. Our achievements are great as compared with those in the past, but are too small to mention as compared with what should be done. Our cultural revolution has just started."

Lenin mentioned in passing the discussion on a wonderful ballet performance in the Moscow Theater.

He said smilingly: "Yes, ballet dances, dramas, operas, and exhibitions of late and latest paintings and sculptures--all these demonstrate to many foreigners that we Bolsheviks are not terrible barbarians as they describe. I do not deny these manifestations of social culture--I do not look down upon them in the least. But frankly speaking, building three primary schools in the remote rural areas is more to my liking than running an exhibition of the most distinguished articles. The improvement of the general cultural level of the masses can lay a solid and perfect foundation on which powerful and inexhaustible strength for developing art, science, and technology will arise. The significance of creating and popularizing culture is extraordinarily strong here. I must admit that we are making many experiments here--apart from the serious experiments, many are naive and immature and have

wasted labor power and material resources. But it seems that waste is as inevitable in creative life as in the natural world. Since the proletariat seized political power, we have obtained the most important thing for carrying out the cultural revolution, that is, the masses' consciousness and their desire for culture. A new generation which is created by and is creating the new social system is growing up."

Excerpts from Zetkin's "Recollections of Lenin." (Clara Zetkin, 1857-1933, one of the leftist leaders of the German Social Democratic Party and the Second International, one of the leaders of the international socialist women's movement, and one of the founders of the German Communist Party.)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Zetkin, Krupskaya, and Ulianova.
2. Andreas Bodenstein Karlstadt, 1480-1541--German religious reformist, who took the lead in destroying the holy image of the Catholic Church.
3. This refers to the proletarian cultural faction and futurists.
4. This originates from the Latin words "panem et circensus" in a satire by Juvenalis, a Roman poet, indicating that the masses in the Roman Empire no longer concerned themselves with state affairs but desired only two things, that is, "bread and circuses," which were provided by the authorities free of charge.
5. Refer to "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 65, pp 71-80.
6. A dissolute dandy in a Spanish legend who flirted with women.
7. Gabriele D'Annunzio, 1863-1938, an Italian bourgeois writer.

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A GREAT COMMUNIST FIGHTER--COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF COMRADE  
QU QIUBAI'S DEATH AS A MARTYR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 11-14, 19

[Article by Ding Shouhe [0002 1343 0735]]

[Text] The 18th of June was the 50th anniversary of Comrade Qu Qiubai's death as a martyr.

Comrade Qu Qiubai was a great Marxist, an outstanding proletarian revolutionary, theorist, and propagandist, a founder of our proletarian cultural cause, and one of the early important leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. He died when he was only 36. In his short life, apart from involvement in a large host of activities in revolutionary practice, he left behind works and translations of more than 5 million words dealing with Marxist theory, ideology, and culture, literature and art theory, and also such aspects as creation, education, journalism, reform of the writing system, and so forth, making an indelible contribution toward the combination of Marxism with Chinese revolutionary practice and the development of the Chinese revolution and also adding color to contemporary and modern Chinese ideas and culture. In December 1950, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Comrade Qu Qiubai was a thinking man who cared to turn his thoughts to pondering problems." His "spirit of working for the people," his "unyielding will in the face of danger and his thinking preserved in words will live in our memory forever." This evaluation was what Comrade Qu Qiubai deserved.

From the May 4th Movement, Qu Qiubai was active in the anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolutionary struggle and began to accept Marxism. He started a magazine singing the praises of the October Revolution, advocating "a heated reform movement--revolution" and pointing out "the progress of the world heading in every way for social development." In October 1920, in his capacity as a reporter for CHENBAO [MORNING PAPER], he went to the newly established Soviet Union to gather news. His aim was to look for revolutionary truth, "carving out a bright path for everyone" and playing his part in "leading Chinese society on the path to a new life" and in "the ideological development of China in the period of its rebirth." While in the Soviet Union, he visited factories, villages, schools, and organs, attended conferences of the Party of Soviet Russia and the Communist International, and got deeply involved in an investigation of revolutionary social

life. He received interviews and guidance from Lenin. He became greatly enlightened. He quickly developed a communist world outlook and joined the Chinese Communist Party, determined to fight to "bring communism to mankind." Several tens of news reports on his visit to Russia and works by him, such as "Notes on a Trip to a Country Suffering From Hunger," "History of a Red Capital," and so forth, produced a widespread impact. He was the first Chinese that directly studied and reported on conditions about various aspects of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution.

In early 1923, shortly after his return to the country, Qu Qiubai took a part in leading the CPC Central Committee. At that time, our party was in its childhood. Whether or not Marxist theory could be used to arm the whole party and bring about the combination of Marxism with the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution would have a very important effect on the development and growth of the party and the progress of the revolutionary cause. Qu Qiubai attached unusually great importance to the propagation of Marxist-Leninist theory. He once again stressed Lenin's directive of "no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." He pointed out that "only a political party guided by advanced theory can play the role of a progressive fighter in the revolutionary movement." In the process of building up the universities of Shanghai, editing the theoretical magazines XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] and QIANFENG [VANGUARD], and sharing the editing of the official newspaper of the CPC Central Committee XIANGDAO [GUIDE], he introduced many important works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. He also wrote such works as "An Introduction to Social Sciences," "An Introduction to Social Philosophy," "Modern Sociology," and so forth, presenting the fundamental theory of philosophy and the social sciences.

Qu Qiubai clearly understood that the propagation of Marxism was aimed at an effort to study and solve actual problems in the Chinese revolution. Therefore, he paid particular attention to the combination of Marxist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution. He repeatedly said: "Revolutionary theory can never be separated from revolutionary practice"; "Revolutionary theory must be closely combined with revolutionary practice; otherwise, theory is just empty talk." The first to preach dialectical materialism in China, he also stressed the practicality of Marxist philosophy. He pointed out: "Only what is compatible with reality is truth." "Dialectics calls for the combination of theory and practice." Only by bringing knowledge in line with objective practice can we "avoid coming to grief" in action. He held that China's Marxists must "apply revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice" and "apply Marxism to work in light of the conditions of China, with the effort not to be delayed for a single day."

This was a most important demand that Qu Qiubai imposed on the whole party. He himself also strived to act this way. Based on fundamental Marxist theory, he systematically studied and clarified the social nature and revolutionary features of Chinese society. He pointed out that China had long been reduced to semicolonial and semifeudal society. Therefore, "the main target of China's revolution is to topple imperialism and feudal militarism and win democratic freedom and the liberation of the national economy," enabling China to "get rid of the oppression and exploitation of

the feudal patriarchal clan system and imperialism." Based on the nature of Chinese society and the idea represented by Lenin's "two strategies," he affirmed that China must take two separate steps. The first step was the bourgeois democratic revolution. The socialist revolution was just the second step. China's democratic revolution also had its own features: First, "the Chinese revolution had by the May 4th Movement joined the world socialist revolution started in Russia in October" to "become part of the world social revolution." Second, the Chinese proletariat "had entered the political arena," naturally "paving a new way for development." Therefore, though the Chinese revolution was bourgeois in nature, its "triumphant future cannot help exceeding the bounds of bourgeois nature, with non-capitalist development."

The problem of leadership over the democratic revolution, or leadership by the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, was a fundamental one of whether victory could be achieved in the democratic revolution. After the Second National Party Congress, many comrades in the party studied this problem. Qu Qiubai was the first to write on it. He analyzed the economic conditions of various classes in Chinese society and their political attitudes. He divided the bourgeoisie into the "comprador bourgeoisie" and the "national bourgeoisie," pointing out that the comprador bourgeoisie acted in collusion with imperialism and militarists, upsetting the national economy and disrupting the effort toward national independence and liberation. Like the landlord class, it was an enemy of revolution. The national bourgeoisie suffered from imperialist oppression, on the one hand. On the other hand, it was bound by the shackles of the feudal system. Therefore, the "bourgeoisie participated in the revolution." But because of its less than strong economic position and its shaky and compromising nature, it "did not go whole hog in opposing the strong militarists." He stressed the revolutionary nature of peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. He held that the petty bourgeoisie and most of the intellectuals subjected to oppression of various kinds "naturally incline toward revolution." Their revolutionary spirit "could not be contained." The Chinese peasants were the main target of imperialist and militarist exploitation, "with a burning desire for revolution." Of them, "the poor peasants and farm laborers were the most thoroughgoing revolutionaries." The national revolution "could not be a success without the participation of peasants." He stressed that the Chinese proletariat was placed in the most oppressed position and was also related to advanced production. It was "the most advanced and most thoroughgoing" revolutionary class and "the leading class in revolution." Based on this analysis, Qu Qiubao, starting from February 1923, kept pointing out that we must first enable the proletariat to win the position of a guide in proletarian revolution. In China, "a bourgeois revolution must be led by the proletariat before victory can be achieved."

With the development of the revolution, and especially after the May 30th Movement and the Northern Expedition, Qu Qiubai made an extensive study of problems of fundamental theory and policy about the revolution, such as the United Front, the problem of peasants and land, armed struggle, party building, and so forth. He further developed the idea about the proletariat striving for leadership over the revolution, allowing a big step forward in combining Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution.

On the problem of the United Front, he pointed out that we must topple imperialism and feudal militarism. The proletariat must "unite all exploited classes," establish a revolutionary united front, and fight together. The United Front was "joined mainly by workers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie" and "also by the national bourgeoisie." Sometimes, even the "archbourgeoisie" also participated. In light of the experience of the May 30th Movement, he stressed the inevitability of class struggle in the United Front and the necessity for the proletariat to win leadership. He held that the proletariat's "winning leadership over the revolution is a prerequisite for victory in the Chinese revolution." Communists must bravely assume the duty of leading the revolution.

On the problem of peasants and land, Qu Qiubai held that "if the problem of peasants is not solved in the Chinese revolution, there can never be victory." He repeatedly said that "the peasant revolution is the focus of the Chinese revolution." The proletariat must arouse peasants to realize "ownership of farmland by peasants," and establish "peasant armed forces" and "a peasant regime." Only in this way could we win over peasants as "the most effective, the greatest, and most important allied force in revolution." He warmly hailed the vigorous development of the peasant movement and refuted various slanders and accusations against the peasant movement. With high revolutionary fervor, he recommended and evaluated Mao Zedong's "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," wrote a preface to it and got the work published. He urged that "every Chinese revolutionary should read" this book. After the failure of the great revolution, he again further pointed out that we must arouse the greatest number of peasants in a struggle to "carry out an agrarian revolution."

On the problem of armed struggle, Qu Qiubai was one of the earliest leaders of the party to attach importance to armed revolution. In 1923, he suggested that armed struggle and the mass movement "should proceed at the same time and promote each other." At the start of the May 30th Movement, he put forth the problem of combining the masses of people with armed forces. He held that "in the national revolution of China, we must also organize the armed forces of its own people before there can be complete victory." On the eve of the Northern Expedition, he wrote the work entitled "The Problem of Armed Struggle in the Chinese Revolution," dwelling on the significance of armed struggle in a relatively systematic manner and pointing out the need to actively "arm the civilians," establish "a worker-peasant armed force," and "create a revolutionary army," in order to avoid "failure and a prolonged Chinese revolution." With the progress of the Northern Expedition, he repeatedly stressed the need to seize leadership over the army from the new rightists of the Kuomintang. He held that "with the development of the revolution at its current stage, the working class' effort to gain control of a revolutionary army was especially an urgent and important task." After the failure of the great revolution, he wrote "The Problem of Armed Riots." Though the article was not free from the influence of the idea of the city as the center, he analyzed the situation and features of the then Chinese revolution based on experiences from peasant riots in various areas. His view was correct--a view calling for first starting rural riots and then organizing worker-peasant revolutionary armies,

launching guerrilla warfare, establishing revolutionary bases, and setting up regimes by force of arms, thus enabling revolutionary forces to unite in creating a situation of victory of the worker-peasant regime covering a still wider area. This made a praiseworthy contribution to the formation of our party's revolutionary road to the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas. In the resolution of the Sixth National Party Congress drafted by him, it was pointed out that the party must strive to "develop soviet bases," "build up a worker-peasant revolutionary army--the Red Army--to the fullest extent," and "lead peasant guerrilla warfare." On many occasions, he praised and commended the Red Army led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De and warmly hailed "Long Live the Mao Zedong Red Army!" predicting its growth and victory.

On the buildup of the party, Qu Qiubai stressed that the Chinese Communist Party was "a proletarian vanguard." The proletariat "must strive for leadership over the revolution under the leadership of the party." Therefore, we must raise the party's Marxist level, develop inner-party democracy, strengthen party discipline, provide collective guidance, maintain close ties with the masses, and unfold criticism and self-criticism.

All these problems were major ones having to do with reality and theory raised in the early revolutionary activities of our party. Whether or not these problems could be correctly solved had to do with whether or not we could apply Marxism to the practice of the Chinese revolution and guide the Chinese revolution to victory. It was in the ideological and theoretical fields that Qu Qiubai made his contributions toward correctly solving these problems.

In combining Marxism with Chinese revolutionary practice, we must go through hard struggle. In many struggles, Qu Qiubai bravely fought in the forefront. After the start of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, when Dai Jitao came out with reactionary theory opposing Sun Yat-sen's three major policies and opposing the Communist Party and the worker-peasant movement, Qu Qiubai immediately wrote articles refuting things in an overall and profound manner. Qu Qiubai criticized Dai Jitao's fallacy for opposing the materialist conception of history ideologically, opposing class struggle politically, and opposing the Communist Party and even rejecting the Communist Party organizationally, and exposed the wild attempt of the new rightists of the Kuomintang to control the development of the revolution. When Chiang Kai-shek started the Zhongshan warship incident, Qu Qiubai called on the whole party to raise its vigilance. After the start of the Northern Expedition, he again put forth the idea of replacing Chiang Kai-shek. Up to the outbreak of the "April 12th" counterrevolutionary coup, he pointed out that Chiang Kai-shek had betrayed the revolution to become "a new-type imperialist henchman" to whom must be dealt the strongest blow. In a dauntless spirit, Qu Qiubai severely criticized Chen Duxu's capitulationist mistake of compromising with and yielding to the Kuomintang rightists. At the Sixth National Party Congress, he, based on Chinese revolutionary experiences, analyzed the nature and features of the Chinese revolution, criticized "left" and right mistakes and especially the mistake of putschism, and put forth many correct ideas. When Wang Ming's "left"

adventurism surfaced, he upheld the Sixth National Party Congress resolution and gave cogent reasons in support of his case. He held that the danger of "left" deviation in the party was quite serious. He stressed the differentiation in treatment of landlords and rich peasants and the adoption of a joint strategy toward "the middle camp," but opposition to its reformism. The party must "strive to establish and consolidate soviet revolutionary bases" and "seek external expansion." When he was accused of "left opportunism" by Wang Ming and others, he still stuck to his own view, criticizing and resisting their factional activities. This not only pointed to Qu Qiubai's farsightedness and erudition but also showed his firm stand in upholding the combination of Marxism with Chinese revolutionary practice.

Qu Qiubai theoretically analyzed and clarified things about the importance of not separating revolutionary theory from revolutionary practice, and applied correct ideas to educating and arming the masses of party members. He also himself took an active part in actual revolutionary activities and displayed outstanding ability at leadership in work. He participated in preparing for the Third National Party Congress, and drafted the party's program. He attended the First Kuomintang National Congress and made arduous efforts in reorganizing the Kuomintang and bringing about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese communists for the first time. After the failure of the great revolution, the Kuomintang reactionary group slaughtered communists and the revolutionary people everywhere, blanketing the whole country with the White terror. The Chinese Communist Party was put in an extremely dangerous situation. At this time, Qu Qiubai bravely assumed the duty of leading the revolution and became an important leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Together with other comrades, he led the whole party to continue advancing. He actively participated in working out the policy decision on the "August 1" Nanchang Uprising and presided over the party's "August 7" conference. He resolutely corrected and put an end to Chen Xuxiu's right capitulationism and defined the general guideline for the practice of the agrarian revolution and for armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionary group. He affirmed and guided the Autumn uprisings in Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Jiangxi, and other provinces, the Guangzhou Uprising, and the uprisings in many other areas. He also quickly summed up experiences from uprisings in other areas. He put forth the idea of launching guerrilla warfare and establishing revolutionary bases, and sent large numbers of cadres to various areas to strengthen leadership. Qu Qiubai was also an important leader at the Sixth National Party Congress. At the congress, he presented a written report of more than 80,000 words entitled "The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party." He also gave a political report. He drafted the political resolution of the Sixth National Party Congress and formulated for the congress a revolutionary program calling for opposing imperialism and feudalism, carrying out the agrarian revolution, and establishing a worker-peasant democratic dictatorship. He played an important role in defining a fundamentally correct line for the Sixth National Party Congress. After the Sixth National Party Congress, he acted as head of the delegation to the Communist International and as member of the International Executive Committee and member of its Presidium, becoming a well-known activist in the international communist movement. He presented some highly important views for the international communist movement and



especially for colonies and semicolonies in the East. In 1930, he returned to the country to preside over the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, criticizing Comrade Li Lisan's erroneous assessments of the Chinese revolution, putting an end to adventurist plans to organize a nationwide riot and to concentrate Red forces on attacking central cities, resuming independent party, league, and trade union organizations and their normal work and playing an active part in ending "left" mistakes. But just when the party's work was again gradually heading for the right direction, Qu Qiubai met with an uncalled-for blow from Wang Ming and others and was expelled from the leadership of the CPC Central Committee.

Qu Qiubai was also a hard-working and brave fighter with an outstanding performance record on the ideological and cultural front. He was the first to translate the full text of the "The Internationale." The "Red Wave Song," "Iron Flowers," and many other works written by him were packed with militant passion, effectively inspiring revolutionary people to fight. He was a man of immense learning and brought the pen of a skilled writer to the battlefield, daring to challenge famous persons in various fields, and waging struggles against various hostile and wrong ideas. After the wrong blow from Wang Ming's "left" adventurism, he, thinking nothing of his personal misfortune and ever more serious tuberculosis, kept on working for the party and joined Lu Xun, Mao Dun, and others in launching and leading a left cultural movement. He systematically recommended and disseminated the Marxist theory on literature and art, and promoted the popularization of literature and art. He stressed that revolutionaries must be "oriented toward the masses of workers and peasants." He doggedly followed the policy of serving workers, peasants and soldiers. He helped the masses of workers and peasants get rid of the influence of feudalistic ideas and heighten their revolutionary will. He set a high value on Lu Xun and his works. He opposed "left" empty talk and called for revolutionary writers' deep involvement with real life and actual struggle and commitment to writing works really capable of reflecting the demands of the era. He made immortal contributions toward China's proletarian culture and cultural and art undertakings. He was really a founder of our proletarian literary cause.

True, in leading the advance of the whole party, Qu Qiubai also had his share of faults and mistakes. In November 1927, the enlarged meeting of the temporary CPC Central Committee Political Bureau presided over by him showed trends toward putschism by suggesting that the Chinese revolution was "a ceaseless revolution" and that the revolutionary situation was at "a continuously rising level," and by calling for launching continuous attacks and organizing hopeless urban riots and for certain extreme policies. These were chiefly what the then representative of the Communist International Lominadze put forth and upheld. Qu Qiubai also assumed great responsibility for accepting these opinions as a leader of the party. As far as Qu Qiubai personally was concerned, chiefly due to lack of experience, placed in extremely complicated and difficult circumstances he had an inadequate understanding of the then prevailing situation and the laws of revolution. Theory was separated from practice. This shows that it is not so easy to really understand the laws governing the Chinese revolution and the features of the Chinese revolution at its every stage and to

effect the combination of theory and practice from beginning to end. What was praiseworthy was that when Qu Qiubai found that the mistake of putschism was causing damage in actual work, he very quickly admitted to the mistake. Before he left his leadership post, he took measures to correct it and showed his openhearted spirit of putting party interests first.

It is a full 50 years since Qu Qiubai died a martyr. His shining image as a person selflessly fighting for the realization of great communist ideals and bravely sacrificing himself to that cause will forever live in the memory of the Chinese people. At an important moment when the people throughout the country are building socialism with Chinese features and carrying out modernization, we, in observing the memory of Comrade Qu Qiubai, must acquire his spirit of fervently seeking revolutionary truth and wholeheartedly studying Marxism to solve actual problems in China; imitate his idea of proceeding from reality and upholding the combination of theory and practice; acquire his democratic style of treating others on an equal footing, attaching importance to collective leadership and showing the courage to recognize and rectify his own mistakes; and follow his militant spirit of showing not the least compromise with the enemies of Marxism and various erroneous ideas. Qu Qiubai's revolutionary spirit will forever be a source of inspiration to our progress.

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## ECONOMIC LEGISLATION AND SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

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[Article by Gu Ming [7357 2494]]

[Text]

I

Law belongs to the realm of the superstructure, and is a reflection of the economic basis. After primitive society disintegrated and mankind entered class society, in order to safeguard their rules, the ruling classes of past dynasties formulated many laws, all of which invariably included legal norms (or clauses) for readjusting economic relations. Our country's legal norms for readjusting the economy are of long standing. The law and rites of slave society and the famous laws of the Qin, Han, Tang and Ming Dynasties of feudal society all contain a large number of economic legal provisions. So it is with every country's laws in the world. Whether the Roman law and the Napoleonic Code of the continental legal system or the common law of the British and American legal systems all have many economic laws and regulations. But these laws are miscellaneous, unclassified, and are not fully developed.

Economic law in the modern sense of applying the means of economic legislation to readjust economic relations appeared in the main belligerent states during World War I. At that time, capitalism had already developed from free competition to world monopoly, and state intervention in economic affairs became an inexorable trend in the phase of monopoly capitalism. With a view to surmounting the difficulties in material supply in a wartime economy, some relevant countries formulated some economic decrees imposing state unified controls on important materials and their prices. After being defeated, in order to revitalize its economy and cope with the crisis, Germany continued to adopt the means of economic legislation to further carry out state intervention in and control of economic activities. Gradually, economic law was separated from some norms of the civil and commercial laws, and became the economic law of today.

After World War II, in order to rapidly rehabilitate and develop their national economies which were on the verge of collapse, the FRG and Japan promulgated a series of laws and regulations to make economic law independent. Over the past 30 years or so, the FRG has drafted over 2,000 economic laws and

regulations, involving almost every aspect of economic activities. In the past few years, with the development of science and technology, some economic laws and regulations which are completely new in content, such as the space management law, atomic energy law, and so on, also appeared. Integrating then with its original structure, Japan also vigorously strengthened its legislation and established a rather well-organized system of economic law. The monopoly capital in capitalist countries closely integrated themselves with the state power, and, through means of economic legislation, intensified their intervention in the social economy and alleviated some contradictions. In social production and economic life, economic laws and regulations can really play a regulatory role. Of course, intensifying economic legislation can in the end neither solve the cyclical crisis of capital nor get rid of the fundamental contradictions inherent in the capitalist system.

Beginning in the fifties or sixties, the Soviet Union and some East European countries planned, one after another, to carry out economic structural reforms and also began to apply means of economic legislation to readjust economic relations. After 1965, the Soviet Union promulgated economic laws like "Regulations on Productive Enterprises in Socialist Countries," "General Regulations on Integrated Industrial Organizations of the Soviet Union and the Republics," and so on. In 1975, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution on "Measures To Further Perfect Economic Legislation" and set about the work of compiling an "economic code." Czechoslovakia was the first country in the world which promulgated an economic statute book. The "Economic Code of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic" has a total of 12 chapters and 400 articles. In the process of economic structural reform, Yugoslavia and Romania also attached great importance to the work of economic legislation and formulated a large number of economic laws and regulations. After World War II, Yugoslavia formulated more than 600 economic laws and regulations, accounting for 80 percent of the federal legislation in Yugoslavia.

To sum up, economic legal norms exist in all class societies, but the economic laws in the modern sense have been engendered on the basis of the socialized large-scale production and as a result of states administering and intervening in social economic life to satisfy the economic and political needs of ruling classes. Over the past half century or so, economic laws have objectively existed in many countries, and more and more countries in the world have begun to attach importance to economic legislation.

## II

During the first 29 years after the founding of our country, we promulgated more than 1,700 important laws and regulations of various kinds, of which, economic laws and regulations accounted for 60-70 percent. These laws and regulations all played great roles in rehabilitating the national economy, healing war wounds, and promoting socialist revolution and construction.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the work of economic legislation in our country has entered into a new developmental

phase. After 1979, there have been more than 200 important laws and regulations promulgated or approved for promulgation by the National People's Congress, the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council. Besides, the governments of every province, autonomous region, and municipality and every department of the State Council have also promulgated a large number of laws and regulations.

In order for the work of economic legislation to be carried out in a planned way and step by step, to strengthen coordination and cooperation, and to avoid repetition in work, at the suggestion of the leading comrades of the central authorities, the NPC and every economic department of the State Council, the State Council, and the NPC Legislative Affairs Commission approved and formulated a 5-Year Plan (1982-1986) for Economic Legislation (Draft). To date, 145 economic laws and regulations have been incorporated in the plan. More than 50 have been approved for promulgation, 15 have finished being drafted and have been formally submitted to higher levels for examination and approval, and 27 draft laws and 15 draft statutes and regulations are now being discussed and revised.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have quickened the work of economic legislation concerning foreign economic relations and trade. In recent years, our country promulgated 50-60 foreign-related economic laws, statutes and regulations, and rules and regulations. Our country has also joined some international conventions concerning economic affairs and signed some bilateral economic treaties. For example, recently we acceded to the Paris Convention for Protecting Industrial Property Rights. In addition, the Economic Legislation Research Center of the State Council is also organizing parties concerned to discuss revising foreign-related statutes and regulations.

In order to suit the needs of stepping up the work of economic legislation, as of 1981, the Legislative Affairs Commission of the NPC Standing Committee set up an Economic Law Office, the State Council set up the Economic Legislation Research Center and the 28 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities as well as 53 ministries and commissions of the State Council successively set up or designated organizations to be in charge of the economic legal system.

While the economic legislation is being strengthened, the work of economic judicature is also being unfolded step by step to ensure the implementation of economic statutes and regulations. At present, economic tribunals have been generally set up in courts at all levels across the country, and economic procuratorial organizations are also being set up at all levels. Last year, another achievement in the building of economic legal systems was that there were already 2,600 legal consultative departments in 19 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, and Chinese legal consultative centers and offices for foreign, Overseas Chinese, and maritime affairs, and so on have also been set up in Beijing and Shanghai.

Over the past few years, the theoretical research and teaching work of economic law developed very fast. In September 1982, the Economic

Legislation Research Center of the State Council convened the first national meeting to exchange experience in the work of economic law. During the meeting, they summed up and exchanged experiences in the economic law work in recent years and probed into the relevant theories of economic law. In October 1983, a national theoretical symposium on economic law was held in Shenyang. In August 1984, during the second national meeting on the economic law work held in Hangzhou, the Chinese Society on Research of Economic Law was established to vigorously promote and carry out the theoretical research in economic law.

For the sake of strengthening the economic legislation work, training economic law cadres and professionals is an urgent task. At present, the teaching and scientific research contingents of economic law are taking shape and growing in strength. An economic law specialty has been set up in two universities, and about 46 institutes of political science and law and universities as well as several dozens of institutes of finance and economics and colleges of engineering have successively begun to offer economic law courses. In addition, the central authorities and every locality also train economic law cadres and professionals by every way and means. Basically, a contingent undertaking economic law research and teaching has taken shape in our country.

In brief, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the situation in the building of the legal system in our country has been gratifying for its outstanding achievements. This has played an important role in ensuring and promoting the smooth progress of the socialist modernization drive in our country.

### III

As an important component part of the legal system of superstructure, economic law reflects the conditions of the economic basis of a country in a certain period, actively regulates its economic relations, and serves to consolidate the economic basis. The economic law in our country is an important tool for the state to lead, organize, and administer the economy. Its task is to mobilize all the active factors, eliminate, restrict, and overcome various unfavorable factors, protect, consolidate, and expand the socialist economic basis, realize the party's lines and principles in the socialist economic construction, promote the development of productive forces, meet the material and cultural demands of the people, and make the people happy and the country flourish and prosper.

In the socialist modernization construction in our country, economic law has the following 10 important roles:

First, it can point out the orientation for our country's socialist economy and open up paths. In the past, through the means of economic legislation, we even confiscated and nationalized the properties of the imperialists and bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, carried out the agrarian reform, practiced industrialization, and achieved the socialist transformations of agriculture, handicrafts industry, and capitalist industry and commerce, and so on, thus

laying the foundation for the socialist economy of public ownership. At present, we should also by making use of the means of legislation further develop and expand the socialist economic basis.

Second, it can guarantee the socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership against being violated and protect the legal rights and interests of individual operators.

Third, it can strengthen various responsibility systems, implement the principle of distribution according to work, increase labor productivity, raise economic results, vigorously develop production and constantly satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people.

Fourth, it can, according to the demands of the planned commodity economy based on public ownership, strengthen state control over the economy, and ensure the balanced and coordinated development of the national economy in a planned way. At present, mandatory planning has been reduced and guidance planning expanded, and it is necessary to stipulate them with a number of laws and statutes and regulations.

Fifth, it can encourage and reward invention and creativity, revitalize science and technology, encourage technological exchanges, open up technological markets, encourage the active adoption of new technological results, promote technological advancement and expedite the development of social productive forces.

Sixth, it can readjust the economic relations among various economic forms, operational modes, and economic organizations and ensure the social production to be coordinatedly and smoothly carried out.

Seventh, it can encourage competition, promote alliances, step up coordination, break up regional blockages, oppose protecting backwardness, and promote the formation and prosperity of a unified socialist commodity market.

Eighth, it can carry out the policy of opening to the outside world, absorb foreign capital, introduce technology, expand the international economic and technological cooperations and commercial intercourse, safeguard state sovereignty and economic interests, and protect the legal interests of foreign enterprises and other economic organizations and individuals.

Ninth, it can promote the establishment of a planned system in which people can consciously apply the law of value, develop the commodity economy while taking account of the interests of the state, the collectives, and individuals, allow some people and some regions to get rich first through industry and then use these advanced to help the less advanced so as to achieve the aim of common wealth and make the state prosper and flourish.

Tenth, it can strengthen controls over product quality, markets and prices, prevent fake commodities, improve the quality of various maintenances and services, improve the service attitude, and protect consumer interests.

At present, we are faced with a new situation of further carrying out the reform and opening to the outside world. During the reform and opening to the outside world, there will be many new situations, things, and problems involving a series of complicated relations and interests concerning the state, the collectives, and individuals. In order to make the reform and opening to the outside world develop healthily, to avoid uncontrollable and chaotic situations, and to implement the principle that there is control but not rigidity and liveliness but not disorder, we must apply more economic and legal means to lead, organize, and control the economy. The aim of carrying out the reform, opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy is to more quickly develop the social productive forces in our country, instead of abolishing all the laws, rules, and regulations. The decision of the CPC Central Committee on reform of the economic structure pointed out: "More and more norms guiding economic relations and activities will have to be framed in the form of law in the restructuring of the economy and national economic development." "State legislative bodies must produce economic legislation faster." We must, through formulating and revising a number of necessary economic statutes and regulations, perfect the economic legal system in our country, and clearly define the tasks, limits of functions and powers, rights, obligations, and so on of the state, the collectives, individuals, and others, so as to have laws and regulations to follow and ensure the healthy development of the reform and opening to the outside world.

#### IV

In order to keep abreast of the new situation of carrying out the reform, opening to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy and to fully display the role of the economic legal system in protecting and prompting the socialist modernization drive in our country, in the light of the practice of economic legislation over the past few years and the intention at present of the central authorities concerning quickening the economic legislation, future economic legal system work should focus on the following:

First, we should enforce legislation in a planned way. It is necessary to continue to grasp well the planning, organizational, and leading works of economic legislation, proceed from the objective needs and possibilities to arrange well the pace of legislation in order of importance and urgency, organize forces to carry out drafting work, raise the efficiency of legislation, and accelerate legislation.

In the work of economic legislation, we should pay attention to solving the following new questions: 1) On the basis of deeply carrying out investigations and research and summing up new experiences, we should promptly standardize and legalize the party's principles and policies and use economic legislation to bring about a deepgoing development of the reform; 2) in the light of the spirit of separating government from enterprise functions, we should use the form of economic legislation to confirm the government organizations' scope of function in managing the economy, and bring into play the roles of the government organizations in formulating, supervising and enforcing the economic statutes and regulations;



3) on the basis of establishing the correct relationships between the state and enterprises and between enterprises and workers and staff members, the ripe experiences in every aspect of the economic structural reform, such as the planning, pricing, tax and wage systems, and so on, should be framed in the form of law in good time; and 4) on the basis of further summing up the experiences in enacting economic law concerning foreign economic relations and trade over the past few years, we should strengthen the legislation work in special economic zones and economic and technological development zones and actively and steadily enact a number of urgently needed economic statutes and regulations concerning foreign economic relations and trade.

The Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress passed a resolution that with regard to questions concerning the reform and opening to the outside world, the State Council can, according to the constitution and on the premise that the relevant laws do not contravene the fundamental spirits of decisions of the NPC and NPC Standing Committee, formulate interim provisions or regulations. Therefore, in strengthening economic legislation work, we should not be impatient to formulate law, but instead, in the first place, formulate some interim provisions or regulations. And then, after a period of practice, we can revise and complement them to become law and report them to the NPC Standing Committee for approval. This way is more in line with the actual conditions in our country. In enacting laws, we should not demand perfection, but formulate as many regulations as questions emerging in the reform. Some regulations can also be promulgated as individual government decrees and sorted out, classified, and merged according to content after a period of time to become more systematic regulations. Both the interim provisions and regulations and individual government decrees can be revised and complemented in the light of the changing situation. In this way, the most realistic preparatory work is accomplished in favor of enacting law in the future. Of course, this does not rule out our firmly grasping the legislation work with regard to those matters which already possess the law-drafting conditions.

Second, we should draw up the legislative procedures to standardize the legislation work. At present, the legislation work is relatively decentralized, and quite much legislation only has subjects not legislative outlines or explicit legislative intentions. Because there is a lack of coordination, many problems have cropped up. For example, some drafting units do not understand legislative intentions and, as a result, fail to grasp the crux of legislation; some drafting units tend to be preoccupied with the limits of their own authority; some questions which have already been brought into line and solved are often raised once again in another unit when being discussed, resulting in incoherence, repeated discussions and examinations, and repeated opinion surveys. With a view to solving these problems, it is suggested to enact a "Law on Legislative Examining Procedures" to procedurally ensure the legislation work is smoothly carried out with high efficiency.

Third, economic legislation, in particular legislation concerning the economic structural reform, must have fundamental aims, explicit concepts, and very strict limits, and be able to promptly solve those problems

relating to economic life which urgently need solutions. Legislative activities are the centralized reflections of the will of a state and are important policy issues, and therefore laws should be made according to the interests of the state and the principles and policies of the party. If we overemphasize reaching unanimity of views, we will make the draft laws equivocal at the sacrifice of principle and lose their aim and effect. Meanwhile, this will undoubtedly delay the examination of draft laws for a long time and cannot meet the urgent needs of the reform.

Fourth, we should properly extend the legislative jurisdiction of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities. With the reform developing in depth, many new situations have emerged. Therefore, it is imperative to draw up a number of corresponding laws and statutes and regulations to govern the increasingly complicated multilevel economic structure of various economic forms and operational modes. Though some of the legislation should be formulated and promulgated as soon as possible, some is not yet ripe as laws, or we have no certainty of their success, despite needing laws to follow. As the territory of our country is vast and each locality's economic situation and level of productive forces are different, in enacting laws, we should not seek uniformity but must be flexible. Therefore, when some legislation is not yet suitable to be a national law at present but localities need it very much, on the principle of not affecting the overall situation and not violating the constitution, laws, and decrees, we can first let localities formulate local laws and regulations, and then make them national laws when conditions are ripe.

Fifth, we should step up the clearing and compiling work of laws and decrees. Clearing and compiling the existing laws, decrees, and rules and regulations is also an important legislative activity. Laws and decrees should develop and change with the development of objective conditions, but, over the past 30 years or so, we have not earnestly checked up on the laws in our country. As a result, there are many contradictions between old and new laws, which are extremely disadvantageous to the reform and must be resolved. Those which should be abolished must be abolished, those which should be revised must be revised, and those which have been proved to be effective at present should be compiled into books to be observed.

Sixth, we should intensify the work of supervising and inspecting the observance and execution of economic laws and regulations. Therefore, we should clearly designate the departments responsible for administering, supervising, and executing the economic laws and regulations, promptly carry out supervision and inspection of the enforcement of the economic laws and regulations, and through promoting extensive and deepgoing education in the economic legal system, make cadres at all levels and the broad masses of the people consciously abide by various economic laws and regulations and have the various economic laws and regulations earnestly observed and executed.

CONCERNING THE TRANSFORMATION AND REVITALIZATION OF THE NORTHEAST INDUSTRIAL  
BASE

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[Article by Shen Yue [3088 6390]--passages within slantlines published in  
boldface]

[Text] /1. Building the northeast industrial base is a major policy deci-  
sion on the deployment of China's productive forces./

The northeastern region (including three northeastern provinces and three leagues and one city in the eastern part of Nei Monggol), with an area of 1.24 million square kilometers and a population of 102.56 million people, is China's earliest and most important industrial base. In the First 5-Year Plan period, one-third (or 52) of the 156 engineering projects were conducted in northeastern China and, since the start of the Second 5-Year Plan, the Daqing oilfield, the Liaoyang Chemical Fiber Corporation, and the Liaohe oilfield have been built one after another. In the 35 years since the founding of the PRC, northeastern China has made important contributions to supporting the country's socialist economic construction. In the future, it will still occupy a decisive position in the country's four modernizations program.

Building northeastern China in a planned way into one of the country's important industrial bases was a major policy decision on the deployment of China's productive forces in the initial period of the founding of the PRC. Viewed from the situation at that time, the policy decision was correct and it is still so today. The region has the following favorable conditions: First, it was the first area liberated in the country and it had a certain industrial foundation before liberation. Second, it is rich in natural resources. It has been proven that its petroleum deposits account for more than 50 percent of the country's total; that its iron ore deposits account for a quarter of the country's total; that its standing timber ranks first in the country; and that its deposits of coal, nonferrous metal, and various nonmetallic mines also account for large proportions in the country. Third, it has transport facilities. Before liberation, it had longer and denser railways than the other regions in the country. It also has a relatively good foundation in highways, ports, ocean shipping, and aviation. Fourth, its urban population is relatively concentrated and along the

Harbin-Dalian railway from north to south there are four big cities, namely, Shenyang, Harbin, Changchun, and Dalian. The city groups with different characteristics, which are formed on the basis of the four cities, will play an important role in organizing economic networks and links in northeastern China. Fifth, it has a relatively powerful contingent of workers and staff members and a fairly strong scientific and technical force. Since the completion of the industrial base, it has sent, in continuous streams, large numbers of economic management personnel, engineers, technicians, and technical workers to other parts of the country. Sixth, it has laid a fairly good foundation for agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry and is a famous "granary" of China. For agriculture it has the Sanjiang and Songliao plains; for forestry it has the Da Hinggan Ling and the forest zone of the Changbai Shan; and for animal husbandry it has the Hulun Buir and Horqin grasslands. All these have provided large quantities of raw materials and extensive markets for the development of the industry. Seventh, after 35 years of construction, the northeastern region has been turned into an industrial base centering on metallurgy, machine-building, petroleum, the chemical industry, coal, electric power, and building materials. In 1984 the region's total industrial output value reached 110 billion yuan, of which heavy industry accounted for 64 percent.

Forming a complete set under the state's unified planning, the industries in the northeastern region have close internal links among themselves. A fairly developed transport and communications network has been established throughout the region, making it one of the important energy bases in China. Breaking the bounds of different provinces and regions, coal, electricity, and transport are now subjected to unified management. A steel production base headed by the Anshan Iron and Steel Works and including key steel works in Benxi, Dalian, Fushun, and Qiqihar has been established in the region. Nonferrous metal mines are concentrated in Heilongjiang and Jilin while the metallurgical industry is concentrated in Liaoning. A system of petroleum exploitation, refining, and pipeline transportation centering on the Daqing oilfield has been established in northeastern China. With its great superiority, the machine-building industry can be coordinated in such a way as to produce large and medium-sized facilities for metallurgy, mines, power stations, petroleum, chemical industry, building materials, and transport and communications. The Changchun car manufacturing plant, which has turned out complete sets of products since its beginning, has set up a joint industrial corporation for "Jiefang" brand cars, thus initially realizing a loosely organized transregional combination. In opening up to the outside world, Dalian serves as a common "door" for the three northeastern provinces and the eastern part of Nei Monggol. Giving full play to the roles of Liaoning's coastal cities (such as Dalian, Dantong, Yingkou, and Jinzhou) is of great importance to the economic prosperity of the vast hinterland in the northeastern region. The various provinces have close links with one another in the chemical industry, building materials, and textiles and other light industries; they are also interdependent and closely related to one another in commodity circulation, science and technology, culture, and education. Therefore, viewed from its historical development, geographical conditions, and internal economic relations, the northeastern region is in fact an economic region.

During an inspection tour to the northeastern region, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that northeastern China serves as five major bases in China's socialist construction, namely, steel, energy, machine-building, forestry, and grain. This is a concise summary and a succinct evaluation of the deployment of northeastern China's productive forces and serves as our starting point in studying the strategy for its economic development. The future strategy for the development of the northeastern region is to make full use of the above-mentioned superiorities and to give further scope to the roles of the five major bases so as to make greater contributions to the revitalization of northern China and to serve the country.

How to give further scope to the role of northern China, which is an old base, is a question of major strategic principle that should be studied. Judging from the existing practical conditions, we should primarily solve the following problems, namely, technological transformation, energy, transportation, and readjustment of industrial setups.

/2. The key to bringing into full play the role of the northeast industrial base lies in grasping properly the technological transformation of existing enterprises./

With its numerous old enterprises, obsolete equipment, backward technologies, and seriously aging technology, northeastern China is in urgent need of technological transformation. According to the 1983 statistics, the net value of fixed industrial assets throughout the region accounted for only 60 percent of their original value. Most of the technology and equipment of existing enterprises are from the 1940's through the 1960's and relatively few of them are from the 1970's, thus lagging behind the advanced European and American levels by 20-30 years. The crucial equipment of quite a few key enterprises is in a state of serious aging. The situation is even more serious in the locally run medium-sized and small enterprises. Many of them lack the means to carry out experiments and inspections, thus seriously affecting the improvement of product quality and the development of new products. Due to backward technology and equipment in the industry as a whole, consumption of energy and raw materials is high. This situation has not only worsened the energy shortage in the northeastern region but also made it difficult for industrial production to form a virtuous cycle.

When making an on-the-spot investigation in Liaoning in 1984, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out: It is necessary to create conditions for the transformation and revitalization of the old industrial base so that it can play a bigger role in the four modernizations program. The roles of Shanghai on the one hand and Liaoning on the other in the country's four modernizations program can never be replaced by any other localities. In these instructions Premier Zhao pointed out the direction for us and strengthened our confidence in studying the strategies for northeastern China's socioeconomic development and carrying out well the technological transformation of existing enterprises.

In the course of technological transformation, we should adhere to the following three principles: First, it is necessary to raise the level, to

have a new starting point, and to vigorously introduce advanced foreign technology in order to modernize existing enterprises. Second, it is necessary to stress economic results, to produce more with less investment, and to adhere to the principle of selecting and transforming enterprises with better economic results. Third, it is necessary to stress speed and to rely chiefly on the technological transformation of existing enterprises to develop production. Therefore, in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, we should concentrate our forces on transforming, in a planned way and with due emphasis, a number of key industries and enterprises so that these enterprises can genuinely transform themselves on the basis of advanced technology, thus reaching the international level of the late 1970's or the early 1980's in technology, equipment, and management and catching up with the current advanced level in some aspects. On the basis of transforming old enterprises, we should promote the development of new industries, laying a solid foundation for vigorous economic development in the decade to follow.

When formulating plans for technological transformation, we should strive to achieve the following: First, it is necessary to break the bounds of different regions and departments and to formulate plans for technological transformation according to different industries. Transformation should be carried out in a planned way, by stages, and in groups; it should not be carried out all at once through precipitate mass actions. Second, we should make further efforts to emancipate the mind and vigorously open up a new situation in the introduction of foreign technology. Third, technological transformation should be carried out in close coordination with the readjustment, reorganization, and combination of enterprises and on the basis of rational deployment and not on the basis of "large and complete" or "small but complete" in order to prevent duplication and waste. Fourth, technological transformation of enterprises does not mean that we should discard everything and start all over again. We should make full use of the fixed assets of existing enterprises and take the road of expanded reproduction by intension. Fifth, we should have long- and medium-term overall plans for the transformation of key industries and enterprises. We should also make preliminary preparations for major transformation and import projects and do a good job of feasibility studies so that our plans can be both scientific and feasible. Sixth, it is necessary to examine and approve major technological transformation projects and to institute an economic responsibility system. Seventh, we should integrate technological transformation with the modernization of enterprise management and gradually adopt scientific management methods and means. Eighth, it is necessary to strengthen information and consultancy services.

/3. Only by making a success of energy and transport projects can the role of the northeast industrial base be brought into full play./

Energy shortages and the strain on transport have become major checks on northeastern China's economic development. In northeastern China there are many heavy industrial enterprises which consume a large amount of energy. The shift in the focus on coal construction resulting from an erroneous policy decision in the 1960's, in particular, has slowed down the growth of

the coal industry in northeastern China. In the 20 years between 1963-1983, the production capacity of new coal mines in northeastern China amounted to only 27.26 million tons and, during the same period, old mines with a production capacity of 15.54 million tons were abandoned. This increased production capacity by only 11.72 million tons, or an average newly increased production capacity of only 586,000 tons annually. For the period between 1966 and 1981, the installed capacity of power stations progressively increased by 10 percent annually in the country; it increased only by 5.9 percent in northeastern China. For this reason, energy shortages in the northeastern region have become more serious, making it necessary to transfer an enormous amount of coal from the regions inside Shanhaiguan. The shortage of electricity makes it impossible to bring into full play 20 percent of the production capacity, thus reducing the output value by about 20 billion yuan annually. Transporting huge quantities of coal from the regions inside Shanhaiguan every year has also made the strain on transport and communications even more serious. The capacities of the main railway lines and the hubs of communications have reached a saturation point in most cases and insufficient berthing facilities in Dalian port have resulted in serious delays. Therefore, solving the energy and transport problems in northeastern China is one of the important tasks in revitalizing the northeast industrial base.

In line with the instructions of the central leading comrades and the actual conditions in northeastern China, in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period we should carry out the transformation and construction of energy and transportation industries according to the principle of "concentrating on technological transformation, reconstruction, and extension, properly building some necessary projects, stressing electricity, and carrying out unified planning and simultaneous construction of coal, electricity, and transportation."

In developing the coal industry, we should chiefly make full use of the proven deposits in the region and, while intensively exploiting and transforming the existing old mines, concentrate on extending the 10 old mining areas in eastern Heilongjiang and Jilin, central Liaoning, and eastern Nei Monggol having greater potential for increased production. At the same time, in line with the principle of "making overall plans and designs and gradually spurring development," we should develop step by step the three open coal mines at Yimin, Huolin He, and Yuanbaoxin in the eastern part of Nei Monggol and vigorously develop the locally run coal mines. In developing the power industry, we should concentrate on the transformation and extension of the existing old power stations and, in light of the local conditions of coal mines and transportation, build some mine mouth and port power plants. At the same time, we should also vigorously exploit hydroelectric power resources in order to increase the capacity of power networks in regulating power supply. Northeastern China is rich in petroleum resources. We should step up the development of oilfields to ensure a steady increase in crude oil production. It is also a key region consuming the largest amount of energy in the country. We must adhere to the principle of attaching equal importance to development and frugality, give priority to the economic use of energy, make vigorous efforts to save energy and water, and improve the use ratio of energy and water resources.

In developing transportation and communications, we should chiefly regulate the patterns of transportation and make full and comprehensive use of various transportation facilities. The focal point of our work in railway construction is to transform the bottlenecks in the Shenyang-Shanhaiguan, Harbin-Suifenhe, and Harbin-Manzhouli railways in order to raise the capabilities of the railways in transporting coal and other materials. In the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, we plan to concentrate on transforming and building Dalian, Yingkou, and Dantong ports, to gradually dredge inland rivers, particularly the Songhuajiang river system, and to improve the navigation conditions so as to develop ocean shipping and inland navigation. To make it easy to open up to the outside world and to invigorate the domestic economy, it is necessary to develop aviation and to encourage locally run civil aviation. Moreover, it is also necessary for north-eastern China to improve the quality and technical grade of highways in order to bring into play the advantages of highways in transportation.

In order to gradually ease energy shortages and the strain on transport, we should change the previous situation characterized by the state monopolizing energy and transportation, conscientiously implement the principle laid down by the central authorities on simultaneous development by large, medium-sized, and small enterprises, by the state, local authorities, collective, and individual, and by domestic and foreign funds.

/4. Further efforts should be made to readjust the economic setup in order to improve the economic results of industry in northeastern China./

Industrial setup, product mix, and enterprise structure in northeastern China are very irrational; it is therefore necessary to reform and readjust them. First, with regard to industrial setup and production mix, the capital- and labor-intensive industries are numerous while the technology- and knowledge-intensive industries are few. After liberation, in light of the natural resources in northeastern China, the state concentrated on building heavy industry. This is entirely correct. However, the proportion of light industry was relatively small. Following the readjustment in recent years, the proportional relations between light and heavy industry have improved to some extent. However, they are still unbalanced. The development of light industry fails by far to meet the needs of the market and the people. Among the numerous branches of heavy industry, the proportion of crude processing is large while that of intensive and finished processing is small. The phenomena characterized by "three numerous, three fews, and one poor" are widespread, namely, numerous primary products and few highly finished products; numerous old products and few new products; numerous low-grade products, few high-grade products, and poor economic results. Second, regarding the organizational structure of enterprises, due to the effect of the Soviet pattern in the 1950's, the phenomena characterized by "big and complete" or "small but complete" are both widespread and serious. The level of specialization is very low, which seriously affects technological progress and economic results.

In order to transform and revitalize the old industrial base, it is necessary to readjust the industrial setup, product mix, and organizational



structure in a planned way. First, on the basis of enhancing the quality and variety of products and introducing new designs, light industry should continuously increase its growth rate, particularly the development of the food industry and the feed industry, in order to transform locally the grain produced in northeastern China. Blind expansion of production capacity of heavy industry and the development of enterprises with high energy consumption should be kept under control. With regard to those branches of industry whose production links do not form complete sets, it is necessary to fill the gaps and to make up for the missing links in coordination with the technological transformation in order to form a comprehensive production capability. Second, on the basis of making overall arrangements, it is necessary to readjust the deployment of the existing enterprises in a planned way and step by step. Toward enterprises with excess production capacities, we should select the best ones and transform the excess enterprises into productive forces beneficial to society. Third, we should take key products as the "dragon head" and central cities as props in vigorously organizing coordination among different departments and economic combination. Fourth, we should energetically develop township enterprises. Thanks to the implementation of the various contract responsibility systems, bumper grain harvests have been reaped for years in succession in the vast rural areas of northeastern China. The region's grain output reached 102.5 billion jin last year, an average of more than 1,000 jin for each person, exceeding the average national level. However, the proportion of the agricultural output value in the northeastern region is still quite low. This is chiefly because diversified undertakings as well as the overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and sideline occupation is poor and the development of township enterprises has been overlooked for a long time. In the future, we should organize various quarters in vigorously supporting the development of township enterprises, provide services before and after production, and support voluntary combinations. Fifth, we should vigorously develop the tertiary industry. A central leading comrade recently pointed out that a good method to invigorate the economy and to open up a new situation in a relatively short time is to start from the tertiary industry. It is quite necessary to develop the tertiary industry, which needs less investment but yields quick results. Although the tertiary industry has developed to some extent in Liaoning, it has still failed to adapt itself to the current need of vigorously developing the national economy and the demand of opening to the outside world, opening all avenues of employment, and improving the living standard of the people. We should vigorously develop the tertiary industry and speedily change its backward outlook.

To bring into play the role of northeastern China, which is an old industrial base, we should also make further efforts to make a success of the reform of the economic structure and to implement the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure." Invigorating enterprises, particularly the large and medium-sized enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people, is the central link in the reform of the economic structure with the focus on the urban economy.

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# SEVERAL THEORETICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING PRICE REFORM

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[Article by Su Xing [5685 2502]]

[Text] I. Planning and Pricing

China practices a planned economy.

The planned economy is a new system for organizing and administering the national economy. There are no ready experiences in this respect in the history of social and economic development. Although the Marxist classics had some tentative ideas about this, through the socialist practice over the past 60 years or more, some of them have been proved to be in conformity with reality while some of them have not. For example, the planned economy envisaged by Marx and Engels was one without commodity production and commodity circulation, but in reality, even to this day, commodity production and commodity circulation cannot be abolished in any socialist country. It can also be predicted that even if a socialist revolution occurred in the developed capitalist countries today, in the socialist period, none of them could abolish commodity production and commodity circulation. Of course, the socialist commodity production and commodity circulation are different from the previous commodity production and commodity circulation in nature. They are based on the public ownership of the means of production and are carried out in a planned way. Just as was pointed out by the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure," it is a planned commodity economy. Under such conditions, the planned economy is unable to override the market. On the contrary, it can attain its aim only through the market and through making use of the market and its law. Since the 1920's, many Chinese and foreign economists have set the planned economy against the market. This viewpoint, however, has basically been negated by practice.

At present, two specific forms are adopted in our economic planning: mandatory planning and guidance planning. At the same time, a certain amount of market regulation under the guidance of planning is permitted. Both forms of planning must make use of the market and market mechanism. On this point, planning and market are unified, or it can also be said that they are mutually permeable. However, as we have often said, the use of market

and market mechanism is not equal to the market regulation. In our country, the latter has a special meaning. It actually refers to free production and free circulation under the guidance of planning, which is a supplement to planned production and circulation.

Generally speaking, in socialist countries, under the system of planned economy, planned production and circulation are coexisting with free production and circulation, although the ratio between the two varies in different countries. Will this planning system be changed? For example, when the productive forces are further developed in the future, will planning cover everything and free production and circulation be abolished? In my opinion, so long as the commodity economy exists, they will not be abolished. Should there be any changes, they will possibly be the use of the market in a more flexible way.

The use of market and market mechanisms mainly refers to using the lever of pricing to regulate production, circulation, and distribution so as to attain the aim of planning. In this respect, we have had some successful experiences. In the period of restoring the national economy, under the conditions that diverse economic sectors were coexisting, what did we use to bring more than 100 million individual peasant households and large numbers of private industrialists and businessmen into the orbit of planned economy? We mainly used the lever of pricing in a conscientious manner under the conditions that the socialist state economy was in a leading position in the national economy. During the period of the First 5-Year Plan, although we practiced the policy of state monopoly for purchase and marketing of grain and other agricultural and sideline products, we also paid great attention to the regulative role of the lever of pricing.

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation, especially during the "Great Leap Forward," less attention was paid to the role of market and pricing. The practice of "egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources" was in reality a negation of the principle of distribution according to work and commodity production. Fortunately this mistake was quickly corrected. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the viewpoint of abolishing commodity production and later repeatedly emphasized the role of the law of value, thus providing a theoretical basis for making a full use of the lever of pricing in the period of readjustment and for restoring and developing the national economy.

After the 1960's, under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, centralized management was overemphasized in theory and the scope of mandatory planning was increasingly extended. However, when many socialist countries were enlivening the economic system and boosting production, we called all this revisionism and made our planning system more and more rigid, resulting in the slowdown in our economic development. In particular, during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," although planning was repeatedly emphasized, the entire national economy became seriously disproportionate. This is a very profound lesson for us.

The content of planning should be proportionality. Social labor cannot be distributed proportionately without using the lever of pricing. Why was the production of the products in excessive supply continuously boosted while that of the products in short supply was continuously decreased in the past, and why was this problem not solved for a long time? An important reason was that pricing was not reasonable.

What kind of pricing is reasonable then? In principle, price should reflect value and the relationship between supply and demand. In academic circles, on the question of price reflecting value, some people advocate that value should be taken as the center, and some others hold that the production price should be taken as the center. It seems that the latter is more in conformity with reality. Price is the reflection of value in the form of money. The prices of some commodities cannot completely reflect their values. In the market, changes of price are mainly determined by the changes in the relationship between supply and demand. Supply and demand determine prices. This is independent of man's will. When supply surpasses demand, the price is bound to drop; when demand surpasses supply, the price is bound to rise. Conversely, pricing regulating supply and demand is also independent of man's will. The rise and fall of prices can provide information for expanding or reducing production, stimulate or restrain the development of production, and bring about changes in the relations between market supply and demand.

Therefore, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the lever of pricing and study the law governing supply and demand. Generally speaking, the relationship between supply and demand reflects the relationship between production and consumption. For example, the relationship between supply and demand of the productive means can reflect the relationship between the production and consumption of the productive means; and the relationship between supply and demand of the means of subsistence can reflect the relationship between the production and consumption of the means of subsistence. However, the relationship between supply and demand is not equal to the relationship between production and consumption. This is because circulation exists between production and consumption, and in the course of circulation, in order to solve the contradictions between scattered production and concentrated sale, there should be commercial activities, and because the speed of commodity circulation in the commercial link can affect the relationship between supply and demand. Even when the supply and demand of the social products as a whole are balanced, as a result of the differences in sources and productive conditions of various regions, and in different seasons, imbalance can also appear in supply and demand in some areas. This imbalance will certainly be expressed by prices.

The relationship between supply and demand can change because of the situation of a certain locality at a specific period of time or because of the situation of a larger area in a longer period of time. While working out planned prices (including fixed prices and floating prices), it is necessary to take the latter into consideration. It is necessary to consider the demand of the proportionate development of the national economy. Only thus can the regulative role of the lever of pricing be brought into fuller play.

## II. Readjustment and Stability

Retaining price stability is a correct policy. Over the past 36 years, several price fluctuations have occurred in our country. But they were stabilized very quickly. This shows the superiority of the socialist economic system.

Stabilizing prices means to control prices so that they cannot rise or fall sharply. It does not mean freezing prices. On the contrary, only when unreasonable prices are readjusted in good time can the prices remain basically stable. In 1979, the prices of agricultural and sideline products were readjusted by a relatively greater margin. This was because the price parities between industrial and agricultural products had not been readjusted for many years and the price scissors had been expanded.

At present, relaxing the prices of pork, vegetables, and other agricultural and sideline products is, in reality, a kind of readjustment. The readjustment should include both raising and reducing prices.

The reason why the readjustment of prices is unavoidable is that the main factors determining prices are often changing. They include the following:

1. With the rise and fall of labor productivity, the magnitude of value will also change. The change of the labor productivity of the majority of producers in a certain department can result in the change of the magnitude of value.
2. There can often be changes in the relations between supply and demand. The changes in the relations between supply and demand among different departments will affect the price parities; those in different regions and seasons can affect the price differences.
3. Under the conditions that paper money is used, the quantity of the money issued can directly affect prices.

Of the three factors, the first can help reduce prices, judging from its development, because the constant increase of the labor productivity is a basic trend of the development of the productive forces. The second factor, generally speaking, will not affect the change of prices as a whole, because the changes of prices of different commodities or changes in the price of a certain commodity due to the change of time and region belong to the changes in the structure of prices--when a price is up in one place, it will be down in another; when a certain price is up, another will be down; and when a price is up now, it will be down another day. Of course, if the prices of industrial raw materials are increased, and the costs thus raised cannot be offset by a drop in consumption of raw materials in the processing industry and an increase of labor productivity, the prices of some products can also be affected and rise. The third factor has the broadest influence. Excessive issuance of currency can devalue the currency and stimulate the rise of prices.

The excessive issuance of currency, or inflation, is aimed at relaxing the economic crisis in capitalist countries. As the problem of economic crisis does not exist in socialist countries, the excessive issuance of currency is usually a result of the higher targets in planning and the imbalance between finance, credit, and materials. When there are excessive investments in capital construction, the consumption of funds increases too sharply, and the imbalance between finance, credits, and materials occurs, it is necessary to issue more currency to make up the deficits. Thus, prices will generally rise.

Therefore, the main problem affecting the prices at present is not the readjustment of the structure of prices, which is being carried out now. Practice shows that since the relaxation of the prices of pork, vegetables, and other agricultural and sideline products in many cities, there have not been great fluctuations in prices. The market is generally stable. At present, the main problem is how to maintain the basic balance between finance, credit, and materials. The methods are: to control the scope of capital construction; to control the consumption funds; to control credit; and to restrain the purchasing power of social groups. To this end, great efforts have yet to be made. As construction has started, it is not easy to reduce the scope of capital construction; as a result of reform of the wage system, we cannot but properly increase the consumption funds; when credit is reduced, complaints may come from various corners; it is also very difficult to restrain the purchasing power of social groups. In order to withdraw currency from circulation, the old methods used in the period of readjustment in the 1960's cannot be used again. The urban inhabitants need more high-grade consumer goods, and the rural areas need more construction materials and other means of production, but the supply of these goods is falling short of demand.

The favorable condition at present is that the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have discovered the problems in good time and have adopted corresponding measures. On the other hand, many cadres have also had the experience of suffering from the high targets. If we all proceed from the whole situation and adhere to the policies of the CPC Central Committee, we will certainly have confidence and strength to overcome the current unfavorable factors and create a good environment for the reform.

The price problem is a sensitive problem. Of course, this has something to do with the idea of regarding a stable price as a frozen price, as a result of one-sidedly emphasizing stability to the neglect of readjustment in our past propaganda. But this is not the main reason. The main reason is that pricing concerns the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the individual and particularly, directly affects the people's standard of living. Under socialism, the distribution according to work is realized through commodity exchanges. There are still differences between nominal wages and real wages. Especially, in our country, as the average wage is very low and many people have been receiving low wages for a long time, the changes in price will affect hundreds of thousands of households. The decision that the reform of the pricing system should be carried out at a slower pace was made mainly because the state and the enterprises are unable

to bear violent changes in this respect. It proceeded from the idea that the people's standard of living must be increased rather than be lowered. This conforms to the socialist principle and policy.

An important step has been made in the reform of the pricing system. Judging from its current development, the situation is better than expected. The market is basically stable, except for a number of commodities (such as aquatic products and vegetables in some cities), whose prices have temporarily increased rather quickly. Tangible results have been achieved in the readjustment of the rural productive structure. Of course, some conclusions have yet to be drawn after practice. However, so long as production has developed, circulation has been promoted, and the market has been expanded, the prices will certainly tend to be stable and to drop. The cities which were opened up earlier have already accumulated experiences in this respect.

### III. Relaxation and Competition

Since the prices of pork, vegetables, and other agricultural and sideline products have been relaxed, the state and collective enterprises and individual traders have been purchasing and selling goods freely and the form of multichannel management has been adopted. As a result, the business of state commerce has been greatly affected. Generally speaking, this is greater in small cities and smaller in large cities. Therefore the following question has been raised: Is it necessary for the state commerce to give play to its role of the main commodity circulation channel?

The answer should be: It is not only necessary to give play to this role but also necessary to enhance it. In China's national economy, the state sector of the economy is in a leading position. In the state sector of the economy, state-operated commerce is the link between various economic forms. Our experience shows that it is very difficult to stabilize the market without the role of the state-operated commerce in regulating supply and demand and balancing prices.

In order to regulate supply and demand, balance prices, and stabilize the market, the state-operated commerce must grasp large quantities of commodities, which are able to decide the market prices. Can it grasp the commodities after relaxing prices?

Immediately after the relaxation of prices, in some places phenomena such as difficulties in the purchase of live pigs and the selling of pork occurred. Many food companies suffered losses and the income of their staff and workers decreased. Some butcher's shops changed their business and some staff and workers of these shops asked to be transferred to other jobs. Similar things also happened in the vegetable business. However, these were all temporary phenomena. They were difficulties which emerged in the course of changing the old style of operation into a new one.

Is it possible that there will be fewer difficulties for the state-operated commerce to purchase live pigs in the future? Judging from the general

trend of development, the answer is affirmative. The current price ratios between pigs and grain are favorable for pig raising. According to statistics provided by Yingtan City Commercial Bureau, Jiangxi Province, the price ratio between pigs and grain was 1:4.68 in 1958, 1:4.89 in 1965, and 1:3.57 in 1984. After the price was readjusted, this ratio became 1:5.17. Pork prices are rather low in Yangtan city. In some places, the ratio reaches 1:6. Since the price of pigs is much higher than in the past, the raising of live pigs has been greatly stimulated. When there are more pigs, the price will certainly drop. Thus, the peasants will be willing to sell pigs to the state. Hunan Province estimates that during summer, since it is impossible to sell pigs through long-distance transportation, the state-operated commerce will be able to purchase more pigs and put them in cold storage. At present, some farsighted peasants have required the state to work out protective prices and some specialized households have expressed the desire to sign fixed purchase contracts with state commercial departments. Some people in the commercial departments are also apprehensive that the selling of pigs may become difficult some day in the future and that the "difficulties in selling, storing, and transporting pigs" will be even greater than the "difficulties in selling, storing, and transporting grain." If all this really happens in the future, pork prices will certainly drop spontaneously. If it drops too much, the peasants' initiative in raising pigs will naturally be affected. Under such conditions, the state commercial departments should strengthen their purchases and give play to their role in regulating supply and demand and stabilizing prices. This is a duty that they can never shirk.

As to the supply of pork, vegetables, and other agricultural and sideline products, it cannot be completely the same in large cities and medium-sized and small cities. In large cities, as the supply is more concentrated, in order to transfer large quantities of these products into the cities, it is still necessary to rely on the state commerce. According to Guangzhou's statistics, since vegetable prices were relaxed half a year ago, the state vegetable shops are supplying an average of 900,000 jin of vegetables a day, accounting for more than 50 percent of the total vegetables sold in this city. In small and medium-sized cities, as the quantity of vegetables supplied is smaller, the proportion of vegetables supplied by state commerce will drop, and in some cities, vegetables may mainly be supplied by individual and collective commerce. So long as the state commerce has sufficient goods to regulate supply and demand and control prices whenever necessary, it can still play the role of the main channel of commodity circulation.

At present, the state commerce is faced with the problem of changing from sole management into multichannel management. Some of the past methods are outdated and some of them should be improved. Generally speaking, it has to strive for survival and development in the course of competition and give play to its role of the main channel of circulation and maintain its leadership position in the course of competition.

Viewing it from the angle of competition, the state commerce has its own superiorities, such as having more funds, complete equipment, all kinds of



talented people, having some fodder grains in hand, being more capable of storing and processing materials, having more channels for allocating and transporting goods, having quick access to information, and having a comparatively better reputation. However, it also has its inferiorities. It is usually incapable of management, especially management under conditions where diverse channels are coexisting. Many of its organizations are over-staffed. It has to pay heavy taxes and all kinds of fees. Its service is usually very bad and, in addition, there are some unhealthy tendencies. Competition can put pressure on it, so that it may develop its superiorities and overcome its inferiorities.

Some localities have complained that the competition between state-operated and individual commerce is not carried out under the same conditions. First, heavier taxes are levied on the former; second, it has to pay more fees; and third, its prices cannot be as flexible as those of the latter. Some of these problems (such as taxation) have begun to be solved, some (such as prices) will be solved step by step very soon, and some (such as pensions for retired workers of the state-operated commerce) have been taken into consideration. This shows that similar conditions for competition are being shaped. Some people have said that a number of individual traders have sold inferior or false goods and have evaded taxes, but the state commerce cannot do the same. This has nothing to do with the conditions for competition. It is a problem concerning the illegal acts of a small number of people, which can be solved through strengthening market management. The state-operated commerce is socialist in nature. It should never adopt these measures to compete with others. Only when it preserves its reputation and credibility with the masses can it always be in a favorable position during the competition.

The main problem for the state-operated commerce at present is to adapt itself to the new situation and improve its operation and management. Under the same conditions, why have some enterprises been getting along quite well, but some have not, or have even closed? This has much to do with their methods of management. People are glad to see that since the prices of agricultural and sideline products were relaxed, competition has forced state-operated commerce to improve its style of management. The following are some main expressions of this:

--Management has been improved and efforts have been made to find more sources of goods. For example, in some places, the original method of purchasing live pigs without going out of the office has been changed into the method of going to the countryside and purchasing from the doorstep while making purchases from the office subsidiary. In principle, the purchase prices can float according to the situation of the market and are negotiable according to the quality and grade of pigs. Measures have also been taken to help the specialized households develop pig raising. Contracts on the purchase of live pigs have been carried out better.

--The state-operated butcher's shops have set different prices for frozen and fresh pork and for lean meat and fat meat, as well as for pork of different parts of the pig's body, so as to expand business.

--Various forms of contract responsibility system have been adopted. Some butcher's shops have paid attention to developing the special skill of their employees and slaughtered the animals with their own hands in order to sell more fresh meat.

--Some trading centers have been established and combinations of warehouses and supply and marketing cooperatives have been developed. The peasants specializing in vegetable production are allowed to sell vegetables in towns and cities and various kinds of brand-name, fine-quality, fresh, and special products have been introduced from other areas. The open-door policy has been implemented in trade management.

--Food processing and other businesses have been developed at the same time and a comprehensive service has been promoted.

--Both the attitude and quality of service have been improved.

Some problems, which could not be solved for many years, have been solved through competition.

After the prices of pork, vegetables, and other agricultural and sideline products are relaxed, commodities are circulated through multiple channels. Under such conditions, state-operated commerce should give up some selling points. This is conducive to the development of commodity economy as well as to making the market prosperous and improving the management of state-operated commerce itself. It is not necessary to be apprehensive that "once a position is given up, the state commerce would lose one position." The current situation is quite different from that of the 1950's. At that time, state-operated commerce was not as powerful as it is at present, whereas capitalist commerce was dominant in the entire commercial field. Today, the state commerce is still in a dominant and leading position, why can it not compete with individual commerce, which is still numerically weak?

We must attach importance to commerce. In the period of turning "wartime communism" into the "new economic policy" after the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that it was necessary to grasp the key link of commerce to bring along all other sectors. During the period of socialist transformation in our country, commerce also played a very important role. At present, in order to develop the commodity economy and expand both internal and external markets, it is also necessary to attach great importance to commerce, especially to state-operated and collective commerce. It is necessary to link all other economic sectors by means of commerce and give full play to the regulative role of the law of value so that the tasks of the national economy and social development plans can be smoothly completed. How do we run our socialist commerce well under conditions where various economic sectors and channels are coexisting? This is a new subject for us now.

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# TRAIN CAPABLE PERSONNEL NEEDED BY THE NEW ERA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 29-31

[Article by Wu Xiang [0702 6262]]

[Text] It is pointed out in the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Educational System" that "the fundamental aim of the reform of the educational system is to raise the quality of the nation and train more qualified people." What criterion should we use to judge qualified people and what educational theory and methods should we use to train qualified people? This is a question that demands prompt solution.

Concerning this question, Comrade Wan Li presented some important views of principle at the national education conference. He said: "By 'qualified people,' I mean people needed by the new period."

This succinct conclusion calls for deep thought. In order to train qualified people, we must reunderstand the strategic significance of the issues of qualified people and education from the high plane of historical development and reunderstand the importance and urgency of reforming educational theory and teaching methods that do not suit the needs of the building of socialist modernization.

The key to success or failure in either revolution or construction lies in qualified people. During the revolutionary war years, our main task was to win the wars and seize political power. In accomplishing the task, we needed large numbers of statesmen and strategists armed with Marxist theory and thousands upon thousands of outstanding commanders and cadres who were good at conducting ideological, political, and mass work. At present, we must put an end to poverty and backwardness and build a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of material and spiritual civilization. This task is far more complicated and arduous than that of the past. The vast numbers of qualified people needed is also incomparable with that of the past. It would be impossible to attain the four modernizations if we did not have a considerable number of talented people in all fields and at various levels who adhere to the socialist orientation and have modern scientific and technical knowledge.

Viewed from the needs of the new period, we must transform the traditional ideas about qualified people. Talented people should not be limited to senior experts needed by the modernization program. They should include qualified people of all trades at various levels, of which management and technical personnel and technicians at the grassroots levels of all trades and professions are the people needed in large quantity. The whole nation needs ten or even a hundred million such qualified people. They are the backbone force for the building of socialist modernization.

The qualified people needed by the new period should uphold the socialist road and have lofty ideals and a sense of discipline, the dedicated spirit of working hard for the prosperity of the state and people, and the character of thinking independently, constantly thirsting for knowledge, and boldly bringing forth new ideas. The dedicated spirit of working hard and dying a heroic death was the noble quality the revolutionary fighters had in common during the war years. This was the fundamental reason why we could use millet plus rifles to defeat the enemy with airplanes plus guns. Some comrades hold that we are now in the period of peaceful construction, so we must not repeat the old saying of working hard and dying a heroic death. This is absolutely wrong. Socialist construction is a great undertaking without parallel in history. Although we generally do not have to risk our lives, the tasks are arduous and there are many difficulties. Therefore, we must inherit and vigorously carry forward the dedicated spirit of hard struggle. The new type of qualified people trained by us should have knowledge as well as dedicated spirit. Otherwise, it will be difficult to meet the needs of the new period even if they have acquired profound knowledge.

In training talented people, it is necessary to suit the needs of the new period. In other words, our educational thinking and teaching methods should be changed thoroughly in accordance with the needs of the times. For many years, the schools at various levels were not good at using the elicitation method in teaching. Instead, they used the force-feeding method and required the students to listen, copy, and memorize mechanically what they were taught. The students were not guided to an understanding of the "hows" and "whys" of what they had learned. They were not allowed to raise doubts or hold discussions. Consequently, the initiative of the educated was not brought into play. This teaching method comes mainly from the influence of decadent traditional educational thinking and new dogmatism. If a fundamental change is not made in this decadent traditional educational thinking and the ossified teaching methods, it will be impossible to train large numbers of qualified people needed by the new period.

The decadent traditional educational thinking and ossified teaching methods in China took shape gradually in the feudal society which lasted for several thousand years. Thus, they have a long history and are deep-rooted. The imperial examination system in the feudal society encouraged intellectuals to read the prescribed books, namely, the Four Books and the Five Classics, follow the set notes, write stereotyped essays, and make some comments. If they went beyond this convention, they would fail in the examination. Consequently, the people trained by the feudal ruling class lacked the

ability of independent thinking and were obedient, docile, and blindly devoted. This is because in the stagnant period of the feudal society, the natural economy was predominant and economic activities tended to require the educated to indiscriminately abide by traditional knowledge and skills, while paying no attention to independent thinking and opening up new fields of knowledge. The combination of such tradition and new dogmatism is bound to affect the cultivation of people who can do pioneering work.

Our current socialist economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. A historic change has taken place in the vast rural areas due to the implementation of the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output. The rural economy is now shifting from self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient economy to a large-scale commodity economy. The decision on the reform of the economic structure adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has opened up a bright prospect for the vigorous development of China's social productive forces and for the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Confronting the new situation of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy and facing the challenge of the new worldwide scientific and technological revolution, if we continued to follow the decadent traditional educational thinking and ossified teaching methods, it would be impossible to train a contingent of qualified people even though we made great progress in educational reform and other fields. Therefore, we must change the course, establish a new education thinking--an open-type educational thinking, and explore a new teaching method--an elicitation method of teaching. Only the people trained with such new educational thinking and teaching methods can have the spirit of the times and new quality. Only the new type of qualified people who have the spirit of the times and new quality can suit the needs of the new period.

As a matter of fact, a number of people with high aspirations and determination have made explorations on the new teaching method in practice. Qian Weichang, president of the Shanghai Engineering University, pointed out last year that university students should rely mainly on self-study while making classroom teaching subsidiary, and gradually enhance their ability to acquire and upgrade knowledge by means of self-study. According to a report carried in GUANGMING RIBAO on 28 May 1985, a Chinese language teacher called Ning Hongbin of Beijing's 80th Middle School was also a man with high aspirations and determination. Ning Hongbin was a veteran teacher with more than 30 years' teaching experience. While teaching Chinese in recent years, he broke with the traditional concept in which the teacher taught and the student listened. He encouraged the students to think independently and courageously express their own views instead of blindly following, worshipping, and believing the teacher. As a result, the classroom presented a vivid scene. The students were no longer "gramophones" and "verbatim reporters." They used their brains to think independently, expressed their views one after another, and had the courage to hold discussions with their teacher. While teaching a lesson "The Rays of the Sun" on one occasion, the article said, although there are black spots in the sun, they do not affect at all the radiance of the sun. Our party also has shortcomings and defects. Laying bare these shortcomings and defects also cannot detract from

the party's glory and greatness. When Ning Hongbin explained how vivid and appropriate the metaphor was, a student stood up and said: "I think this metaphor is inappropriate. The black spots of the sun can never be wiped out, while our party's shortcomings and defects can be corrected." Ning Hongbin held that if the students are encouraged to merely seek high marks, it would mean binding their hands and feet. Consequently, they would have no exploratory spirit and thirst for knowledge. For this reason, he ordinarily examined the students from the following five aspects: listening, explaining, reading, writing, and thinking. Moreover, he made efforts to enable the students to understand what they have learned in classroom and encouraged them to read newspapers and magazines after class to acquire knowledge and to take part in the "small invention and creation" activities. After school, he also organized the students in running handwritten newspapers and carrying out the activities of "soliciting answers for difficult questions" and "seeking different opinions" to train and enhance their explorative ability.

Whether Ning Hongbin's specific method is correct or not is open to question. Nevertheless, his spirit of carrying out bold reforms in teaching should be encouraged. We must vigorously reform the teaching methods, accumulate and sum up the experience in this respect, and strive to create a vivid and lively new situation as quickly as possible.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If education is developed in a big nation with a population of 1 billion, no other country will be able to match its immense superiority of intellectual resources." Let us thoroughly transform the educational thinking and teaching methods that are not suited to the needs of the building of socialist modernization and make efforts to train more qualified people needed by the new period!

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## THE STRATEGIC POLICY FOR CARRYING OUT COMPULSORY EDUCATION

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[Article by Chen Zhiyou [7115 1807 3731]]

[Text] Analyzing the sharp contradiction between the backward situation of our elementary education and the urgent requirements of our socialist modernization, the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Educational System" points out: "At present, it is completely necessary and possible for us to carry out 9-year compulsory education, and we should take this as an important task that has a bearing on the enhancement of our national capacity and the prosperity of our country. Prominence should thus be given to this work and the whole party, the whole society, and the people of all nationalities should do their best to ensure the conduct of compulsory education in a positive and orderly way." This will be a great infrastructure project and it is a major strategic decision which conforms with the actual conditions in our country and will satisfy the urgent needs in the building of the two civilizations at present and in future development.

Marx said: "The mode of production for material life conditions the whole process of social life, political life, and spiritual life." The appearance and development of modern production has brought human society into the era of modern civilization and has thus changed the situation of education. The conduct of compulsory education among all citizens arises from the needs of modern production. Along with the development of modern production, the time needed for the general education of young people will become longer and longer, and the educational level of the younger generations will become higher and higher. The development of modern education in various countries has been suited to the various developmental stages of modern production. When manual production was replaced by machinery-based industry which was marked by the wide use of steam engines, the policy of conducting compulsory elementary education was adopted by various capitalist countries, for example, by Germany in the late 18th century and by the United States, Britain, France, and Japan in the mid or late 19th century. Now modern production has developed into the stage of electrification, and workers in general are required to reach the level of secondary education. Many countries have extended the duration of compulsory education and have actively developed vocational education. Since a new

technological revolution broke out in the mid-20th century, modern production has been based on modern scientific and technological knowledge and intellectual work, and socioeconomic development has depended more and more on education. Therefore, major developed countries in the world have all taken measures to reform education. One of the basic measures is to strengthen elementary education and to further the popularization of education. According to the "Statistical Outline of the World's Education Between 1960 and 1982" compiled by the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 168 countries and regions have announced compulsory education, and 43.5 percent of them specify the time for compulsory education is 7 to 9 years. The other 26.8 percent specify a compulsory education time of 10 to 12 years.

In our country, the 12th CPC National Congress put forward the great objective of building our country into a modern socialist power with a high degree of civilization and democracy. In the vast countryside, because of the implementation of various economic policies, the process of changing traditional agriculture into modern agriculture has been accelerating. The party Central Committee's decision on reforming the economic structure has opened up a broad road for enhancing the socialist material and spiritual civilization in our country. Under the new situation of reform and opening up and enlivening the economy, and in order to meet the challenge of the new worldwide technological revolution, we must set great store by knowledge and education, must enhance the quality of our workers, and must train more competent and capable personnel. This is a major key to the success of our modernization drive. At the national conference on educational work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We have mentioned on many occasions that our national economy will probably approach the level of the advanced countries by the 100th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. We say this partly on the grounds that in this coming period we will completely be able to raise the educational, scientific, and technological level of our nation and will train hundreds of millions of capable personnel in all fields." The conduct of 9-year compulsory education is an important step for fulfilling this strategic task and for "orienting education to modernization, to the world, and to the future."

Over the past 35 years since the founding of the PRC, we have made substantial progress in popularizing education, and have radically changed the situation in which more than 80 percent of the population before liberation was illiterate. We should fully affirm these achievements. However, for a variety of reasons, elementary education has not been popularized in some localities, and elementary education as a whole is still rather weak. The "Decision" stipulates that the popularization of 9-year compulsory education must proceed from the actual conditions in our country and should be conducted step by step in stages. This is a correct principle that guides the further development of our general education.

What are the characteristics of our national situation? To sum up, they are a large population, a vast territory, more than 50 nationalities, and an unevenness of social and economic development in various nationalities due to historical and other reasons. The level of technological development



in production and the size of social economic strength determine the degree of popularization of compulsory education and the speed of its development. The state of affairs in the development of ideology, culture, and other things in social life and the difference in the foundation for education caused by historical and other factors also affect the developmental level of compulsory education and determine the different requirements in educational materials and specifications from one place to another. In the past, however, we did not profoundly realize this unevenness and did not give different guidance to the work of popularizing education in different localities. On the basis of summing up previous experiences, the party Central Committee divides the country into three categories in the conduct of 9-year compulsory education and the central decision lays down different requirements for the work in different places. The first category includes cities, economically developed areas in coastal provinces, and a small number of well-developed interior areas. Nine-year compulsory education has been affected in many of these areas, and by making efforts in the next 5 years, 9-year compulsory education will be completely effected in these areas. Many of these areas will popularize senior secondary education by the end of this century, thus forming sizable intellectual bases for our country. The second category includes county towns and rural villages where education is developed to a medium level. While continuing to consolidate elementary education, these areas should actively train more teaching staff and should popularize junior secondary education by 1995. All other areas fall into the third category, which are still economically backward and have a weak educational foundation. These areas should adopt various forms to actively promote the popularization of elementary education and do their best to prevent the appearance of new illiterates. The above arrangements provide a blueprint for effecting compulsory education in our country. That is, by the end of this century, some 70 to 80 percent of areas in our country will have popularized junior secondary education, with a considerable part of them having popularized senior secondary education and other areas basically having popularized elementary education. This will certainly ensure the tapping of enormous intellectual resources in our country in the 21st century.

The conduct of 9-year compulsory education step by step with different arrangements for different areas is in line with the objective laws governing the development of things. As we know, the unevenness in the development of things is absolute, yet the evenness is merely relative. In his essay "On Contradictions," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Nothing in the world develops absolutely evenly; we must oppose the theory of even development or the theory of equilibrium." Our work is to discover the unevenness of objective things and to promote the change from unevenness to relative evenness so as to advance objective processes. There have been two different approaches to the matter of making peasants rich: One is to follow an egalitarianist line and enable everyone to "eat from the same big pot." This has resulted in slowing down the development of the rural economy. The other approach is to allow some people to become rich ahead of others and then to bring along and help other people as we have done since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which set aright our ideological line and eliminated the influence of "leftism" so that we could

base everything we do on objective reality. As a result, production has developed rapidly and the peasants' standard of living has improved markedly. On the issue of conducting compulsory education, we should also follow this and should not repeat the previous erroneous practice of "pushing things ahead simultaneously." Some advanced areas should be allowed to develop intellectual resources faster than other areas so that they can bring along other areas and offer greater support to other areas. Conversely, if we disregard the unevenness in the economic and educational development in various localities and nationalities and try to push all things ahead at the same speed in all areas, we may end up with the following two deviations: One is that educational development in the advanced areas will be hindered by the difficulties in conducting compulsory education in backward areas and the work of compulsory education as a whole cannot progress. The other is that formalistic and window-dressing measures will be prompted in backward areas which are forced to do things beyond their capacity, which might also delay the process of compulsory education in all areas. Therefore, in the course of promoting compulsory education, we should fully realize the unevenness of economic and cultural development in various localities and nationalities of our country, should lay down different requirements for and give different guidance to different areas, and should allow different areas to develop education at varied speeds. This conforms with the dialectics that govern the development of things, and thus can ensure the smooth development of elementary education for our citizens.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his essay "On Contradictions": "If people do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, they cannot deal with its contradictions properly." Therefore, when studying the way to popularize 9-year compulsory education, we should fully realize that this should be effected in a number of stages and should realize the relationship between different stages so as to correctly distinguish the special contradictions in various developmental stages and to correctly handle the relationship between popularizing elementary education and popularizing secondary education. The popularization of secondary education should be carried out on the basis of the popularization of elementary education. In places where elementary education has not been popularized, priority must be given to the popularization of elementary education. In previous years, some localities recklessly developed secondary education without regard to the backward conditions in their elementary education, which resulted in the failure of both elementary and secondary education. We should draw a lesson from this experience. As for some large cities and developed areas where junior secondary education has long been popularized, they should be allowed to popularize senior secondary education as they have necessary conditions and strength, and the authorities concerned should give them help and support.

We should adhere to the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts and doing everything based on reality. That is to say, we should act in accordance with the objective laws that govern the development of things. This is a fundamental guarantee for our success. The party Central Committee's decision on educational reform embodies this idea. As long as we earnestly implement this decision, we will certainly bring about a new situation in which the work of popularizing education is advancing vigorously in all parts of the country.

THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPING EDUCATION FOR MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN YUNNAN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 34-36

[Article by Wang Lianfang [3769 6647 5364]--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Education Structure" pointed out that we must systematically carry out compulsory education. It also put forward different requirements for areas which have varying levels of economic and cultural development. That is, we should rapidly develop compulsory education in the economically developed areas, whereas in economically backward and minority nationality areas, we should adopt a variety of forms to popularize elementary education in various degrees. The state should also take part in expediting the development of educational undertakings in minority nationality areas. This decision of the CPC Central Committee tallies with reality and clearly shows the direction for the frontier minority nationality areas to develop educational undertakings. Yunnan is located on the southwestern border of the motherland, and one-third of its population is made up of minority nationalities. Due to historical reasons, both the economy and culture of the minority nationalities are rather backward. Thus, in order to develop education in Yunnan, we must attach great importance to developing nationality education.

/1. Economically backward areas must strive to develop education./

The economy of Yunnan's minority nationalities is underdeveloped. Because of a variety of objective reasons, natural resources in the mountainous areas have not been developed or put to good use. The production of the minority nationalities is still very backward. Some places still engage in slash-and-burn cultivation. The flatland and some partly mountainous areas where the natural conditions are relatively favorable still have not completely put an end to the backward and poor situation. Therefore, think how earnestly the people strive to put an end to this situation! Over the years, Yunnan Province has seriously implemented the central policy of opening to the outside and invigorating its internal economy. Hence, its economy has been greatly developed. More and more comrades have understood that one of the keys to putting an end to the backward and poor situation rests with qualified personnel, and the training of qualified personnel

depends on education. Thus, the economically backward areas must also actively grasp education. This is an important prerequisite and necessary guarantee for developing the economy of nationality areas. It is also an urgent task. From now on, we must firmly grasp education and train a large number of qualified personnel among minority nationalities. We must make the qualified personnel conform to the needs of the present economic development among minority nationalities, and arrange the educational resources well for building socialism in the minority nationality areas. This will play a very important part in basically putting an end to the economically backward situation among Yunnan's minority nationalities. It also concerns the major strategic issue of developing the southwestern border of the motherland.

/2. We must proceed from the actual conditions of minority nationality areas and give prominence to vocational and technological education./

The main reason that Yunnan's educational development among minority nationalities was rather slow in the past is because the guiding ideology for running educational undertakings was not clear enough. Essentially, it did not proceed from the actual conditions of Yunnan's minority nationality areas, but basically indiscriminately copied the contents and practices of the standardized education adopted by the inland area. Therefore, it was divorced from the production and daily needs of the local people. In one period, the practice of handling matters in accordance with the actual conditions was even criticized as the "view of giving privileges." Such a situation has been basically changed, but this outdated ideology and method of undertaking education still has a profound influence. For instance, many people say that children gain nothing good from studying at school. They say: "What is the use of studying at school?" "After spending 5 to 6 years and a large amount of money on studying, they are not willing to do physical work. They neither know the technology nor keep their mind on working in the rural areas." Therefore, parents are not active in sending their children to school, the rate of mobility among primary school students is great, and the number of graduates is low.

Based on the practice over the past few years, more and more comrades have come to realize that in order to make education of nationalities still more developed, it is necessary to further study the specific situation of Yunnan. We should fully consider the various levels of economic development of different nationalities and areas, and respect the languages, literatures, and traditional customs of various nationalities. We should give separate guidance in line with different classifications. According to the law of regional autonomy, "the autonomous organs should determine the region's plans for education, the establishment of schools at all levels of various categories, the length of schooling, forms of education, course content, languages for teaching, and enrollment methods based on the stipulations of the law," in order to shape a nationality educational system with many channels and layers and various ways of running schools. We must shun the oversimplified work method in which unanimity is required in everything.

The tasks for basic education are twofold: One is to send qualified graduates to higher level schools; the other is to train qualified workers with a certain level of culture and skill for the locality. Neither is dispensable. The actual conditions of the remote border areas have proved that with the exception of a small number of students who will continue their education in higher level schools, the overwhelming majority of secondary and elementary school students will remain in their own localities, serve the economic development and social progress there, and become elementary technicians, skilled workers, or farmers with some cultural background. The localities are in urgent need of such people. In order to accomplish the above aim, the elementary and secondary education in remote border areas must undergo reform. General education and vocational and technical education must be linked closely and shifted to the track of serving economic development and social progress. Yunnan has recently decided to establish some secondary vocational and technical schools and to increase required courses in the curricula for the higher grade of elementary schools and junior high school students, such as natural sciences, hygiene, and skills suitable to the needs of local production and life based on the actual conditions of various localities. Classes can be rearranged for those secondary and elementary school graduates who cannot enter schools at a higher level. They will be given a 1-year technical course, the curricula of which will be basic education in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, industry, and commerce. The locality urgently needs this. The students can also be trained in other applied technical skills. When these students master some skills and return to their own villages, they can become a backbone force in developing local agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, industry, the building industry, commerce, and other service trades, and play a leading role in developing commodity production, removing poverty, and becoming rich. The knowledge and skills they have mastered will be used, and they will make contributions to exploring and developing the local economy and changing the backward situation.

/3. The boarding-school system is an important method for developing Yunnan's education for nationalities./

Yunnan's minority nationalities mostly live in mountainous areas. They are backward in production and are poverty-stricken. Parents often fail to support their children in going to school. The children have to go a long way to school and to climb mountains to get to school. In addition, most of them do not speak the Han language, and it takes them a longer period of schooling than the Han. These actual difficulties have gravely affected the development of education for nationalities. In the past 2 years, Yunnan has implemented a specific policy on the education of minority nationalities. Additional annual educational funds have been allotted by the provincial prefectural (autonomous prefectural) and county governments to run boarding or partial boarding schools or classes for minority nationalities. Those students at boarding schools are free of house chores and they do not have to spend 2 or 3 hours daily climbing mountains, and are thus able to concentrate on studying. Boarding schools have given full expression to their advantages and have continuously sent a number of qualified graduates to schools at a higher level.

In the course of running secondary and elementary boarding schools, we have paid special attention to solving the relationship between the focal point and the general. Yunnan is limited in its financial resources. If the limited financial resources are shared equally, it will be an extremely great waste, yet superficially all will seem well taken care of. On the basis of giving consideration to the majority, the boarding school system is adopted with the stress of limited local financial resources spent on a few boarding and partial boarding schools. This practice is necessary for Yunnan. Superficially, we are training a small number of students, however, this small number of students are of better quality. Without quality, there will be no quantity; quantity is a part of quality. The adoption of the boarding school system today will bring up a small backbone force for the minority nationalities, which will in turn prepare the way for the further development of the education for nationalities in all the villages of various prefectures (autonomous prefectures) and counties. Just as it is said that some people getting rich first will cause all the people to enjoy common prosperity, giving priority to boarding schools at present is an important method for developing Yunnan's education for nationalities.

/4. We must correctly handle the relationship between the teaching of Han and other nationality languages./

Another important specific question involved in the education for nationalities is the question of nationality language teaching in those areas where the Han language is not in use. This involves the party's policy on nationality equality. It is also a specific question concerning the education for nationalities, which must be treated carefully and correctly handled based on the actual conditions of various nationalities and regions. In those nationality elementary schools in which the Han language is not used and in which a written nationality language does not exist, teaching materials in the nationality language must be used in the lower grades, and the Han language should be taught step by step. When materials in the Han language are used in the higher grades, the nationality language must be used simultaneously as an aid. For those nationalities which have no written form of the nationality language and which do not use the Han language, the nationality language must be used to explain texts in secondary or elementary schools to aid teaching. In nationalities in which the Han language is used, teaching can be generally conducted in the Han language in secondary and elementary schools. In regard to whether a nationality language course is given, it should be determined according to the will of the nationality. The teaching method of linking a nationality language with the Han language has been effective in many places. Practice has proved that on this question, bias is unfavorable to the development of educational undertakings for nationalities.

/5. Training local nationality teachers is the key to developing education for nationalities./

Over the past 35 years, many teachers of the Han nationality have volunteered to run schools in minority nationality regions and have made contributions to upgrading the cultural level of minority nationalities. This has

proved the correctness of the party's nationality policies. It is also an honor for Han nationality teachers. From now on, the development of education for nationalities will continue to rely on Han nationality teachers, in particular, those Han nationality teachers who are familiar with the language and literature of minority nationalities and their customs, and who are able to conduct bilingual teaching (both in Mandarin and local minority nationality languages). These teachers are the most effective and are widely welcomed. Meanwhile, a large number of minority nationality teachers have taken up teaching, and the task of education for nationalities has gradually fallen to local nationality teachers. Veteran Han nationality teachers are all enthusiastically helping minority nationality teachers to improve their teaching. These two groups of teachers are now linked, and they have exerted their joint efforts to run schools well for nationalities. This is praiseworthy.

In the final analysis, it is necessary to train local nationality teachers and to improve their quality in order to develop education for nationalities. These teachers have lived and worked in their own nationality region. They are familiar with their own nationality language, history, and customs. The result is that it is better for them to teach minority nationality children. The most important fact is that many minority nationalities in China have their own glorious histories and fine cultural heritages. Local nationality teachers will link their teaching better with the history and culture of their own nationalities. They will link the education in cherishing the motherland with that of cherishing their own nationalities. They will link the studying of new knowledge in science and technology with carrying forward the culture and technology of their own nationalities. Thus, an educational system of the local nationality will be gradually set up, and China's education for nationalities will enter a new historical phase.

CSO: 4004/29

## COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THE REFORM OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 37-38

[Article by Guo Jinghai [6753 2529 3189]]

[Text] The issuing of the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Education System" has delighted college students, who have resolutely and consciously determined to carry out this reform well together with school leaders and teachers.

College students like to think, to have lively ideas, to be sensitive to things, and to come into contact with much social information. They also like to make cross comparisons. Often, not long after they enter a college, they feel that the current tertiary education system needs reform in many respects. They concern themselves with reform, endorse reform, and place their hopes in reform. Their demands for reform are extremely eager. These sort of hopes are without a doubt correct, and many of the demands for reform are rational. However, we must also recognize that the reform of the education system is a very difficult and complicated task. Education concerns the nurturing of people and, like industrial and agricultural production, has a long cycle. The effects and results of reform often cannot be seen immediately. The reform of the education system cannot rely on administrative orders or on making a great din. We will not see results by having the school head issue a few orders, carry out a few actions, and do things loudly and spectacularly. Much less can we use the method of "sweeping everything away" used in the "Cultural Revolution." The reform must be carried out from top to bottom and from bottom to top and should accord with the patterns of education. It must be organized, gradual, and have leadership. The reform of the education system is a process of blazing new trails. We have no experience on which to rely and no fixed patterns to apply. We must "feel for the stones as we cross the river," take a step, and then look where to step next. We must proceed cautiously and progress firmly. This requires repeated investigation, serious research, and the discovering of problems. Some problems can be resolved quite quickly, for example, the problems of excessive numbers of courses and consequent heavy study loads. With determined actions, we will be able to see results quite quickly. For some problems, we need to create conditions for their resolution, for example the reform of outdated course content. This requires the upgrading of the teaching staff, and we certainly cannot see results in this



overnight. Some problems also require experimentation to find solutions. Only after summing up the experiences of experiments will it be possible to gradually implement changes. This carrying out of reform requires revolutionary zeal. We must adopt a scientific attitude, a seek-truth-from-facts approach, always proceed from reality and explore through practice. If we go off in a hot-headed way, rush headlong into mass action, and try to solve the problems in one day, then it is possible that a mess will be made of things or even that suffering and disorder will result. That would inevitably seriously damage our cause and would result in our young students experiencing losses difficult to correct.

Who should we rely on in the reform of the educational system? This is a problem which has been greatly discussed by college students recently. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Education System" points out: "The reform of the education system must motivate the enthusiasm of all sides. Most importantly, it should motivate the enthusiasm of teachers." Regardless of whether it is organizing teaching or reform, the force we should mainly rely on is the broad masses of teachers. When we meet problems in education and see the cautious attitude of teachers toward reform, it is undesirable to put pressure on teachers or even to see them as obstacles to reform and demand their removal. However, when we say that the teachers are the major force to be relied on in educational reform, this does not mean we can overlook the role of students. Even less does it mean that students have no role to play in educational reform. The vast number of students are the recipients of education and are directly affected by the maladies of the current education system and the problems of educational courses. Their thoughts and ideas on the reform of the educational system will always be highly valued. Actually, many college students have summed up their own experiences, actively developed ideas, thought about problems, carried out investigation and research, proposed many positive plans and suggestions for reform in schools, and played a good role. In the carrying out of any plan, not only must the teachers and cadres implement it, but it is also necessary to rely on students playing their part. If we divorce ourselves from the diligent study of students, the success of the reform of education will be difficult to imagine. Thus, listening to students' ideas and bringing into play their subjective dynamic role are essential conditions for doing well in the reform of the education system.

Reforming the education system means getting rid of those things which do not accord with patterns and characteristics of education work, so that the education system better conforms to the requirements of socialist modernization. It certainly does not mean getting rid of everything. For example, the stress on training in basic theory and basic knowledge in our nation's education must be affirmed. The correct problems are the force-feeding method of teaching and the spoon-feeding method of teaching. There is insufficient inspired thought and abilities are not sufficiently fostered. We must pay attention to improving these aspects. In the reform of the education system, college students must correctly understand the relationship between studying and the fostering of abilities, must assiduously study theory and pay attention to grasping various skills, and must follow the correct road in becoming useful persons.

DO THINGS 'IN ALL SERIOUSNESS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 p 38

[Article by Zhang Songshan [1728 2646 1472]]

[Text] The 38th world table tennis championships was an event which attracted worldwide attention. Before the championships took place, many on the international sports scene thought that the rule changes by the International Table Tennis Federation in regard to rackets and serving would probably undercut the "lead" enjoyed by the Chinese paddlers, who relied on their "lead" in terms of rackets, serving, and so on to build up China's domination in the game. But during the championships, Chinese men and women players successively beat their opponents and swept home six glittering world titles. International public opinion cannot but say this is praise: "It is on the strength of real ability that the Chinese table tennis team has been able to retain their domination in the game."

Real ability comes from a clear-cut objective and real, solid work. Faced with immense difficulties before the 38th championships, the Chinese paddlers persevered in strenuous training in their determination to win the championships and win honor for the motherland. Combining ambition with hard work and strenuous efforts with scientific training, they boldly changed themselves, worked out new tactics, and trained hard to perfect their real ability. That was how they managed to win brilliant victories in the championships.

Playing table tennis requires real ability. Just the same, real ability is needed in bringing about the four modernizations, carrying our reform, and doing all sorts of work. This could not be simpler, but some of our cadres do not rely on their real ability to do solid work. Instead, they are good at paying lip service and similar such things. In Beijing dialect, it is said they do not do things "in all seriousness." For example, some enterprises have to borrow money to pay wages due to mismanagement, yet they spend tens and thousands of yuan on decorating their offices, installing chandeliers, and buying flowers to put up a grandiose front. In some units, the leaders rely on their "gifted pen" as "scholars" to "create experience" on paper and rely on a "glib tongue" to hoodwink their superiors when they should be putting their efforts on improving their work. As a leading comrade of the Central Committee recently pointed out: It is true that we

have a batch of able persons who are capable of doing solid work, but it is also true that we have a batch of "hypocrites" who muddle along. These "hypocrites" will not do the four modernizations any good.

"Hypocrites" do things for people to see. Naturally, there are such persons among the leaders at various levels. "Hypocrites" hope that others, particularly the leaders, will think that they have real ability. Although their skills are deceitful, they are skills nevertheless and can be quite misleading at times. Some of our leaders tend to take the false as real and promote such persons to important positions. As a result, the country and the people suffer.

Some say that athletes are the least likely to get in by the back door because in a competition it is impossible to "pass oneself off as one of the players." It is impossible not to have real ability and play "in all seriousness." It would be wonderful if our cadre system can be like the selection of athletes. Those with real ability will be promoted, while the "hypocrites" will be demoted. The key to judging whether or not one has real ability lies in whether or not one does solid work. As long as one does not resort to hypocrisy, he will certainly be able to temper his skill in the course of practice.

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DO AWAY WITH OLD PATTERNS, ESTABLISH A NEW SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 39-40

[Article by Cha Junru [2686 0193 1172], vice chairman of the Economic Restructuring Committee of Nanchang City, Jiangxi]

[Text] Practice in the reform of China's economic structure shows that existing teaching materials on socialist political economics which stick to traditional concepts are far removed from objective reality.

First, in terms of a basic pattern, existing teaching materials are mostly set against an economic structure characterized by highly centralized economic decisionmaking. In accordance with the four-link or three-process sequence, they construct a structure which stands in simple contrast to the laws and scope of the capitalist economy. They have not dissected the socialist relations of production, that is, profoundly exposed the internal links of the socialist relations of production. Engels pointed out: "The conditions wherein people carry out production and exchange differ from country to country. In each country, these conditions differ from generation to generation. Thus, political economics will not be the same in all countries or in all historical periods." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 186) Engels clearly told us that political economics is essentially a historical science with a national and historical character of its own. It is only on the basis of conscientiously studying the special laws at every stage of the development of production and exchange in a particular country that scientific political economics suited to that country can be established. With enormous courage backed up by Marxist theory, the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Economic Structure" clearly pointed out that the socialist planned economy is a planned commodity economy based on a system of public ownership, in which the law of value must be consciously followed and applied. The new reform of the whole economic structure, which is guided by the "Decision" and focuses on cities, is bound to bring about a new situation in China's economic management structure and economic mechanisms as a whole. Under such circumstances, can socialist political economics reflect new objective economic relations if it sticks to old patterns and conventions? Theory originates from practice and in turn guides practice. When a breakthrough is made in practice, theory must follow suit and must develop with practice.

Second, dialectical materialism holds that scientific concepts are found in the things felt, singled out, and summarized by man in the process of cognition. They reflect the general and intrinsic characteristics of objective things. When objective things develop and change, concepts which reflect their general and intrinsic characteristics will also change. The major drawbacks of existing educational materials are: 1) Many concepts are obsolete and outdated. The analysis of "commodity economy" is an example. The existing educational materials only affirm the existence of commodity production and commodity exchange in socialist society but do not affirm the existence of the commodity economy. For this reason, they cannot unequivocally affirm the fact that planned commodity economy is an intrinsic part of the socialist economy and use this fact as the theme of the entire set of educational materials. The exposition of "the law of value" is another example. The notions of "ensuring the leading role of the law of planning, supplemented by the law of value" and "planning first, pricing second" in existing educational materials cannot correctly reflect the proper position and role of the law of value in the socialist economic structure. 2) They do not give us a new theoretical summary of the new situation and new practices. The notion of "commodities" is an example. It has been proven in everyday economic life that neither in connotation nor in denotation can the notion of "commodities" simply be interpreted as labor products exchanged between private owners as Marx and Engels noted, or as labor products exchanged between different owners as Stalin noted. Even in the exchange of labor products between enterprises owned by the whole people, commodity relations exist. Following the gradual reform of the economic and scientific research structures, China's technology trade has also rapidly developed from scratch. This naturally leads people to question the definition and scope of commodities in the form of scientific research achievements. This also requires us to further modify the present concept of commodities and extend its applicability. The notion of "productive forces" is another example. The traditional formula of productive forces is: (productive force) equals (labor power) plus (the means of labor) plus (the purpose of labor). However, under the conditions of modern large-scale production, the productive forces are affected by many factors. Following the development of specialization and the division of labor, the role of management has become more pronounced. Following the development of modern science and technology, science and technology as the most advanced productive forces no longer simply constitute a part of the formula of productive forces but have permeated former constituents in complex ways. Thus, some people have suggested that the formula of productive forces should now be more accurately expressed as: (productive force) equals (labor power plus the means of labor plus the purpose of labor plus labor management) times science and technology. We are living in an era of great changes and new situations and new things are emerging one after another. Socialist political economics is confronted with an arduous task--how to use scientific concepts to portray the entire process of the historical development of socialism. This requires our economists and economic theoreticians to uphold the principle of integrating theory with practice and, to apply the tenets of Marxism in studying new situations and summing up new experiences. In this way Marxism can be pushed forward.

Finally, because existing educational materials basically have not been liberated from the isolated method of research, they have become very vulnerable links insofar as absorbing the new achievements of natural science and the advanced experiences of foreign countries is concerned. This makes us wonder whether or not we should "further emancipate our minds and adopt an open policy internally and in dealing with foreign countries" in the method of compiling educational materials. Under present conditions, socialist economic theories not only should reflect our experiences in developing the national economy, but should reflect the international experiences in developing socialism. Since the 1950's, various socialist countries have carried out useful explorations into the theory and practice of socialist economic construction. They have had successful experiences, but they have also learned lessons of defeat. We should not blindly copy these as we once did, but neither should we totally reject them. We should also fully assimilate the achievements of research into the natural sciences and forge close links with natural science. Marx held that "natural science is the basis of all knowledge," and for this reason it is also the basis of political economics. In his "Manuscripts on Economics," Marx amply illustrated, with the help of an abundance of historical data on science and technology, how science and technology have profoundly affected various spheres of man's production and livelihood. He also held that the process of production was in fact a process of the application of science and technology, and that productive forces included theories of natural science and the products of their transformation, that is, science and technology. In the present age, the establishment and application of new disciplines like information theory, systems theory, and control theory have brought about constant changes in social production and put before us new topics and methods of research on socialist political economics. Thus, in our research on economic theories, it is necessary to do away with isolation. Economic theoreticians must conscientiously study and master the knowledge of natural science and take the initiative to forge close ties with natural scientists. Only in this way can they compile new educational materials of higher standards.

CSO: 4004/31

## TEACHING MATERIALS MUST REFLECT THE TIMES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 pp 40-41

[Article by Wang Shuxiang [3769 2579 4161], assistant professor at the Hebei Teachers Training Institute, and Cui Huanqing [1508 3562 7230], lecturer at the Hebei Institute of Finance and Economics]

[Text] Teaching materials for the socialist part of political economics must also pay attention to the "three gearings," that is, being geared to modernization, geared to the world, and geared to the future. Our nation's economic development is faced with two challenges. The first is the challenge of the new technical revolution which is occurring all over the world. The second is the challenge of the economic structural reforms which are occurring in other socialist countries. Our economics should manifest the idea of "studying the people of the world." Wherever in the world there are useful advanced scientific results, economic theories, practical experiences and so on, all should be analytically absorbed into our teaching materials, to be used as reference and to enrich and develop Marxist economic theory. The practice of every socialist country engaged in socialist construction has made different contributions to the development of socialist economic theory. Their experiences, both positive and negative, have great significance for us. We should also bravely draw in those things useful to us from Western economics. For example, the differentiation between "macroeconomics" and "microeconomics," theories on the development of tertiary industry, on market mechanism, on stocks, shares and interest rates, and ideas on systems, controls and information can all be analytically drawn in, transformed and used in teaching materials for socialist political economics. We should not cover our eyes and stop up our ears, or think that having anything to do with the West is departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy. In brief, creative Marxist economics should answer all the important economic questions of the times and should be of benefit in utilizing modern scientific knowledge and the new achievements of mankind in collecting new information, in studying new situations and in resolving new problems. Marxism, of its nature, is not a closed thing, but abundantly open.

CSO: 4004/29

IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO REVISE THAT PART OF TEACHING CONCERNING CAPITALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 p 41

[Article by Wang Jinpeng [3769 2516 7720], a teacher in a training class for cadres at and above the divisional level in Guangzhou Military Region]

[Text] Many comrades have put forward very good suggestions on how to revise the teaching of political economics (the socialist part) in the spirit of the decision of the Central Committee on the reform of the economic structure. However, there is another important issue which should have aroused the attention of these comrades. This is the question of how to revise that part of our teaching materials concerning capitalism in the spirit of the "Decision."

A main drawback of the part of our present teaching materials concerning capitalism, beside the lack of study and analysis of many issues of capitalism in the present age, is that they only pay attention to analyzing the particularity of capitalist relations of production and do not provide the necessary expositions on general laws and the scope of socialized large-scale production, particularly the commodity economy. Because of this, some students, after studying the part on capitalism, are liable to take the laws and scope of the commodity economy as special qualities of the capitalist economy and thus misunderstand the reform of the socialist economic structure.

Thus, in our teaching of political economics, we must emphasize the need to organically combine the part on capitalism with the part on socialism in our objective, content, and methods of teaching. Through studying the capitalist part of political economics, we should draw a clear demarcation between the special economic laws and scope of capitalism and the general laws and scope of the commodity economy. We should enable the students to understand the particular as well as general characteristics of the commodity economy, recognize the essence of capitalist wage labor, foster the belief that capitalism is doomed and communism is bound to triumph, and understand that developing the commodity economy under given historical conditions can play a positive role in promoting the development of the forces of production.

Only through this kind of study can we enable the students to better understand the essence and historical position of the capitalist system, grasp the general principles of the commodity economy, and lay a solid theoretical foundation for mastering the part on socialism.



A NEWLY HATCHED SWALLOW--READING 'A GIRL CALLED CHUN AND HER LITTLE GAI'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 p 42

[Article by Lei Da [7191 6671]: "A Newly Hatched Swallow--Reading 'A Girl Called Chun and Her Little Gai [a kind of truck built by the USSR],'" by Zhang Yigong [1728 0001 1712]--carried in ZHONGSHAN [6988 1472 BELL MOUNTAIN], No 5, 1984]

[Text] Chun, a farmer's daughter in the hilly areas of Funiu, is a strong-willed girl who is eager to excel in whatever she does. At the end, she is able to shake off the old shell and, like an agile spring swallow bearing the radiant splendor of new life, fly in the gallery of the new rural population of the new period. As a philosopher once said, the degree of women's liberation is the natural yardstick of social progress. From Chun's self-strengthening process, a process of growth from the "old self" to the "new self," can we not also pick up the latest message from the spring tide of changes?

Yes, Chun is just a very simple village girl "living within the jurisdiction of the earth god." It appeared that she was destined to be encased in the hard "shell" of tradition. Since the implementation of the production responsibility system when her family contracted 2 mu of vegetable garden to work on, life has been getting better with each passing day. Her marriage was arranged long before she started school. If nothing had happened, she would have got married, raised children and forever crawled on the "surface" of the earth as her parents did and fulfilled her obligations as a village woman should. In the harvest season, she would have driven her mule-driven cart to the market to sell vegetables like any healthy and strong woman. Smart and capable as she is, she would most certainly have led a more affluent life than her parents did. But then her consciousness, mentality, vision and responsibility would probably have been confined to the "shell" which was so familiar to people of so many generations!

Fate also manipulated her in another way. In this place which lies between an agricultural area and a mining area, looking for a marriage partner may depend on whether or not one has money to buy grain. Chun, who only belonged to "the third grade," was jilted by her betrothed after he had "gone to take over his father's post in the mine and secured an iron rice bowl." The betrothal lost its sacred binding force. To a proud girl, this

was a merciless and humiliating blow. But it is hard to say whether this "jilting" was her misfortune or blessing. She cried about being "jilted," but she also grew strong because of this. This "jilting" prevented her from treading the beaten track of women of many generations and stimulated her to embark on a more arduous, yet much broader, road. Not reconciled to being at the mercy of fate, tradition and other people, Chun had this tense battle in the very depth of her soul: In the eyes of the world, one who holds an "iron bowl" is naturally a head taller than one who works the fields. But in terms of human qualities and spirit, is she not better off than her timid childhood companions? She discovered that the 2 mu of vegetables could not hold all her youthful vitality, while in the vast world outside new things that they did not dare even dream of were taking place. Thus, "Chun the Desperado" resolutely decided to borrow money to buy a truck. She became an "individual working girl" who drove a Little Gai and she wanted to take off and fly away from the "surface" of the earth.

Her discovery was in fact the discovery of man's own strength. Her struggle was in fact the awakening of man's dignity. Her bidding farewell to the mule-driven cart and embarking on the Little Gai was not just a change in the means of production. It was a change in the concept of value, a historic transformation of one who had shaken off the old shell and gained a new life. When she actually prepared for another "way of life," she suffered her fill of pain associated with the transformation. As described in the novel, she must "climb the slope" with clenched teeth and a bleeding heart. She had to swallow her pride and piously learn the necessary skills from a master hand. She had to work ten times as hard as her former betrothed in perfecting her skill. She and her Little Gai had to keep going like mad until the rims of her eyes went black and her Little Gai groaned in exhaustion. It was only then that she was able to repay the 5,000 yuan which she had borrowed from 38 households. As an "individual working girl" who is also single, she has troubles and bitter experience that only she can feel. She must coolly ward off rumors and slanders from the dark. She must also learn to shrewdly defend her own name by giving tit for tat. Chun went through tempering never experienced by farmers' daughters in the old days. Eventually she came first in the driving test in the whole area, much to the surprise of her former betrothed who lived off "the big pot." She has also shed passionate tears over her hard struggle. "She saw her other self, a newly hatching swallow shaking off the old shell and getting ready to soar to great heights and battle against the wind and rain." In her robust new life, she has stood up valiantly in her career and love, and more importantly in her mentality, personal integrity, and concept of value.

The story of Chun and her Little Gai shows that we are now living in an era that needs and is continuously producing strong characters. It is the era she lives in that gives her a vast area in which to display her ability. But, at a time when solid ice has been broken, questions like whether or not one dares to blaze new trails, has historic consciousness and initiative, and imposes restrictions on oneself perhaps deserve our deep pondering.

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RECOUNTING THE PAST TO SERVE AS A LESSON FOR THE FUTURE--WRITTEN AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF 'A HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL WORK OF THE PLA'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 85 inside back cover

[Book review by Niu Yi [3662.3015]]

[Text] "A History of the Political Work of the PLA" which has been published by the PLA Institute of Political Science Publishing House, the senior editor of which is Jiang Siyi [1203 1835 3015], is our nation's first monograph to provide a systematic introduction to the development and history of the political work of the PLA. It can be used as teaching material in carrying out education on the fine tradition of political work in army units, local institutes, and party and government work organs. It is also important reference material for strengthening and reforming political work and for studying party history, military history, and war history. The publication of this book is a new achievement in theoretical research on political work in army units, and it has been welcomed and looked on favorably by readers both within and outside the army. This political work history is arranged in accordance with historical developments and pays attention to recording the historical process of our army's political work from its very beginnings to its maturity and development. It details the nature, place and role of our army's political work, the major contents and the great significance of some of the basic principles of this work, and the historical conditions which produced them. It reflects the various historical stages of our army in the new democratic revolution and the rich experiences of how political work was taken as "one's foremost and most precious weapon," and was used to guarantee that our army grew from a small army to a large army, from a weak army to a strong army and that it would go on to victory after victory. It describes our army's political organs and political work cadres in the intense and brutal years of war, how they brought into play the lifeline role of political work and achieved "first-class results." At the same time, it records how the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and military tacticians such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and so on, combined Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's revolutionary wars and the building of the Chinese people's army, how they continuously studied new situations and resolved new problems, and how their creative efforts succeeded in developing political work into a science. The book is divided into four sections comprising 20 chapters. Before each section is a concise summary and after

each section there is a brief note on main points, comments, and a historical summing-up. The arrangement is clear, ideas are presented in a lucid way and the layout is neat. The "Concluding Remarks" add more value to the work. Not only do they bring forward, from the historical practice of political work in the PLA, the two revelations that "political work is a cherished tradition of our army" and that "the concentrated manifestation, on the theoretical level, of the fine tradition of political work is Mao Zedong's political work ideology," but they also explain the 10 main points of Mao Zedong's political work ideology. At the same time, some personal views are given on a few important questions in "adhering to and developing political work under the new historical conditions." From the overall review of "history" to the deep-going elucidation of "theory," this book helps us to correctly understand and grasp the position and role of political work.

This political work history is permeated with the Red thread of seeking truth from facts and strongly strives to recall the original historical features. Before compiling this book, the editors spent 11 1/2 years collecting and examining not less than 100,000 documents and cables, and after repeated screening and selection, they compiled the "Materials on the History of the Armed Forces Political Work" in 13 volumes, containing 13 million characters. This provided the major historical base on which the present work was compiled, and ensures that the contents are accurate and there is a firm basis for what is written. However, in the difficult wartime conditions in the past, the printing and storage of documents was extremely difficult. Also, the amount of materials available for different periods, different regions, and in different departments varies. For these reasons, some important historical documents have been lost. Thus, despite the great efforts made in research by the editors, it seems that the materials in some chapters and sections are insufficient, and the exposition is thus unsubstantial. There also exist other shortcomings indicating lack of care and incomplete materials. However, despite these shortcomings, this book as a first attempt at systematically detailing political work in the PLA, has proved an exceptional effort.

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END